

Adventurous Whispers of the Past (2012)

➤ *Don Juan de Marco*

Thrilling echoes of the past,
Smash in my dusty ears like electric thunderbolts
And picturesque scenes of heroic battles,
Coincide with the paths I have walked through these days

I will recount your fascinating lives and amazing adventures,
Along with your moments of glory and those of despair
Swapped away by the mortars of time itself,
Leaving only sandy footprints on my tropical island

Hail your long-gone past and colourful achievements,
Always admiring those difficult and glorious decisions
An unworldly link between you and me,
Forever a bond between my past and Aruba

Your steaming blood runs through my veins,
And my searching soul is inspired by your deeds
I will see this universe through your eyes,
And share those epic times with my beloved people

Even if your ways were taken thousands of moons ago,
And your world was invaded and swept away
They will not be lost, not now, not ever,
As they will live inside my soil and scientific soul

Separated by endless tracks of time,
Though united through our history,
Your adventurous whispers of the past will live on,
For many springs to come

Don Juan de Marco, respectfully glancing at your gracious bones...Feeling your sentiments and knowing your thoughts, becoming one until he understands your fears and pains, but also your victories and creations...Your stories will be told, and your flowers will never be lost in the wind...

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Aruba den 28 Junij 1913

Nijlde van de Indiamen twee Kisten in de kerk

alle Indiamen

Agustin Lopez	8	12	100
Hendrick Matens	12	6	20
Frankie	7	—	30
Guana	2	—	14
Anthony	—	—	12
Pedro	—	—	20
Juan	3	—	20
Guana Guljama	4	6	30
Hendrick	2	9	100
Francisco Lopez	6	10	40
Michiel	—	—	100
Domingo Joseph	2	33	100
Maaike	4	4	30
Leonie	12	—	130
Francisca	1	—	20
Francisco	18	9	130
Diego Lopez	2	—	10
Michiel	8	4	70
Mingel	—	—	10
Habilla	3	—	130
Barthma	4	—	30
Anna Louisa	2	—	20
Hendrick	3	90	800
Josie	20	50	250
Janna Maria	60	25	800
Petrona	23	10	100
Agustin Lopez	—	20	30
Guana	—	—	20
Domingo	10	—	100
Francisco	4	3	30

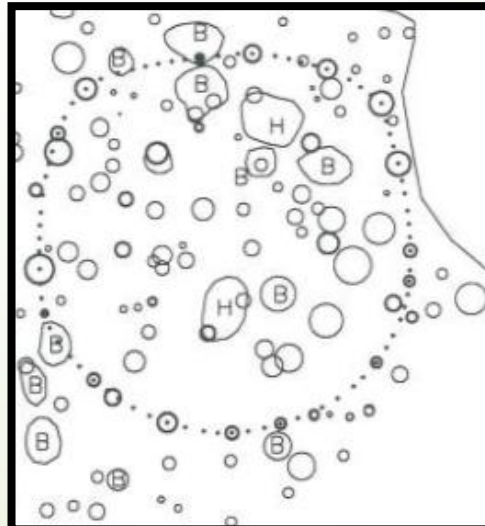
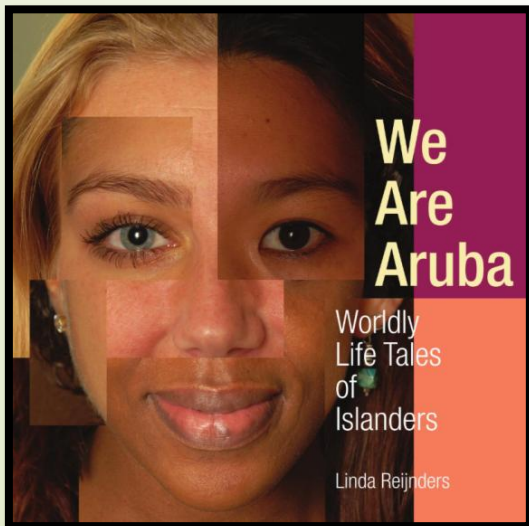
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The Santa Cruz 35 Cemetery

National & Circum-Caribbean (Insular & Continental) Contexts

Drs. Raymundo A.C.F Dijkhoff



➤ 1. INTRODUCTION

- a. National context
- b. Circum-Caribbean Insular context
- c. Circum-Caribbean Continental context

➤ 2. SUMMARY LECTURE 1 (“CAMPAIGNS, EXCAVATIONS & IMPACT”) and 2 (DATA & ANALYSES: RESULTS & INTERPRETATIONS)

- a. Campaigns 2001, 2012 and 2016
- b. Data & Analyses: Results & Interpretations

➤ 3. INDO-HISPANIC CEMETERIES IN THE CIRCUM-CARIBBEAN

- a. La Isabela (Hispaniola): multi-ethnic
- b. El Chorro de Maita (Cuba): multi-ethnic
- c. Tipu (Belize): Indigenous
- d. Campeche (Mexico): multi-ethnic
- e. Quintana Roo (Mexico): Indigenous
- f. Yacman (Mexico): Indigenous
- g. St. Augustine (Florida): multi-ethnic

➤ 4. THE CONFRONTATION OF DIVERSE WORLDVIEWS (“COSMOVISION”)

- a. Late Medieval concepts of body and soul
- b. Late Medieval deathways

➤ 5. TRANSFORMATIONS IN DEATHWAYS AND LIFEWAYS

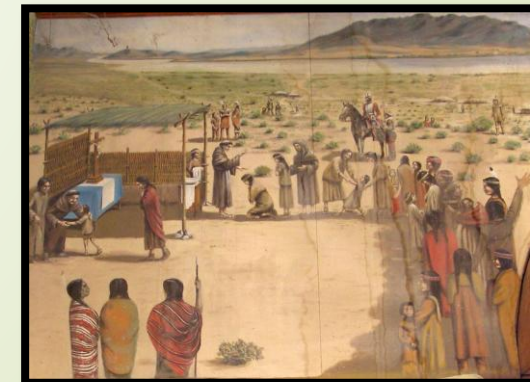
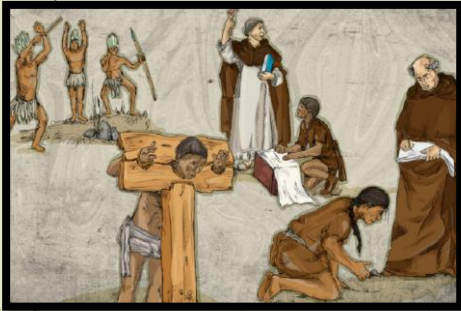
- a. Aruba during the pre-Columbian Caquetio Period (900/1000 – 1515 C.E.)
- b. Aruba during the Colonial Period

➤ 6. NATIONAL CONTEXT & IMPLICATIONS FOR ARUBAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

- a. Reconstruction community Santa Cruz 35
- b. Interesting interpretations of funerary practices and mortuary patterning
- c. Aruban historiography: points of attention

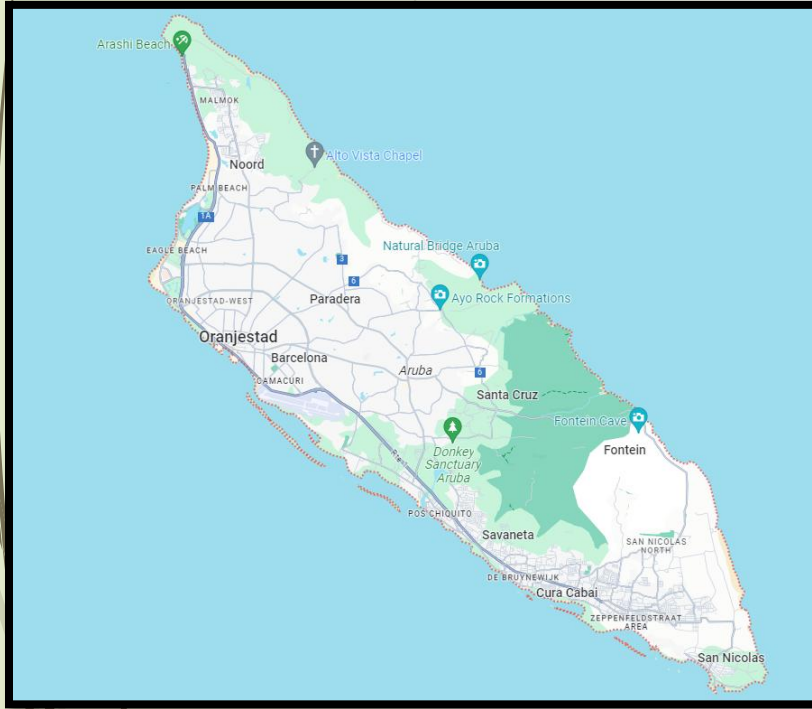
➤ 7. CONCLUSIONS

- a. Singular Aruban Life- and Deathways in Circum-Caribbean
- b. The creation of a Site of Conscience
- c. Research Questions



1. Introduction

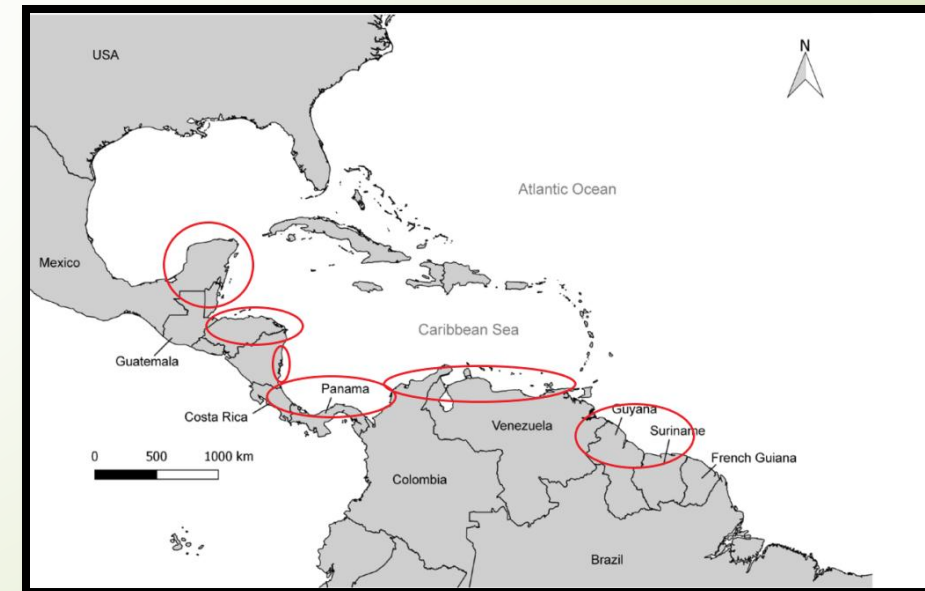
➤ a. National Context



➤ b. Circum-Caribbean: Insular Context



➤ c. Circum-Caribbean: Continental Context



2. Summary Lectures 1 (“Campaigns, Experiences & Impact”) and 2 (“Data & Analyses: Results & Interpretations”)

➤ a. Campaigns 2001, 2012 and 2016

- ❖ Rescue excavations (3x 3 days in the field)
- ❖ Planned excavation (8 months in the field)
- ❖ Planned rescue excavation (5 days in the field)



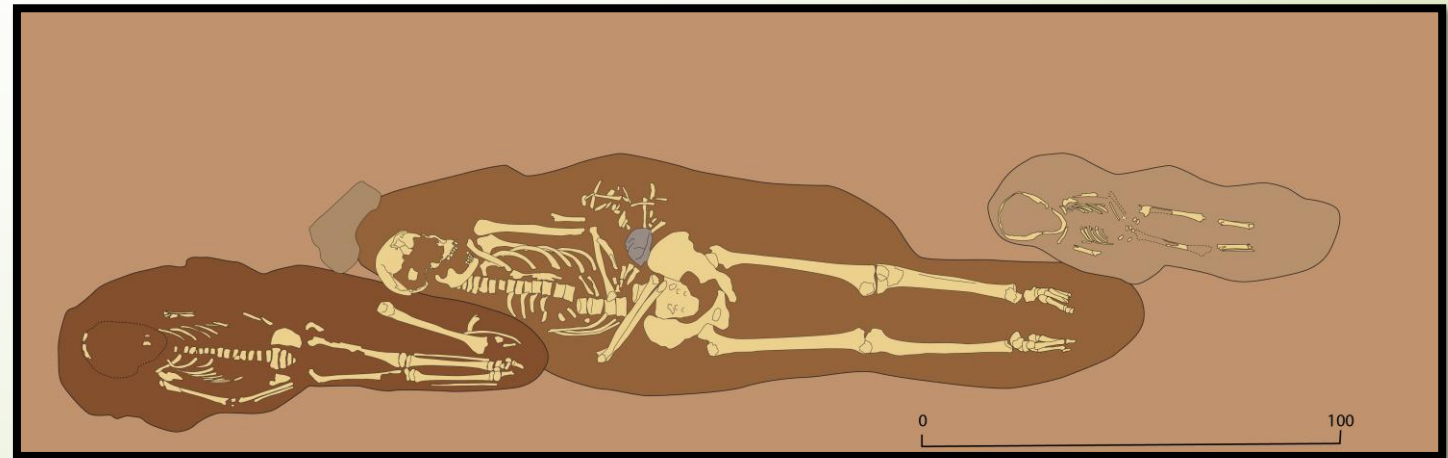
2. Summary Lectures 1 (“Campaigns, Experiences & Impact”) and 2 (“Data & Analyses: Results & Interpretations”)

➤ b. Data & Analyses: Results & Interpretations

- ❖ Osteological analysis
- ❖ Taphonomical analysis: Funerary practices
- ❖ Isotope analysis



ID	elem.	$^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$	$\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{en}}$	$\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{e}}$	type	elem.	$\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{co}}$	$\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{c}}$	$\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{ap}}$	$\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{a}}$
F1	1.7	0.70808 5	-7.7	-2.9	bone	rib	—	—	-7.5	-3.9
F6	3.6	0.70819 4	-5.4	-2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
F9	3.6	0.70829 7	-7.0	-3.2	bone	rib	—	—	-7.2	-4.7
F15	4.7	0.70848 6	-5.4	-2.8	bone	rib	—	—	-7.1	-5.7
F21	1.6	0.70841 0	-7.0	-3.9	bone	rib	-12.7	13.5	-7.1	-4.7
F37A	—	—	—	—	bone	rib	-12.2	13.1	-7.1	-6.4
F37B	—	—	—	—	bone	rib	-12.0	15.3	-5.6	-5.7
F40	—	—	—	—	bone	lbf	-10.8	14.5	-7.3	-4.6



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

➤ a. La Isabela (Hispaniola): multi-ethnic

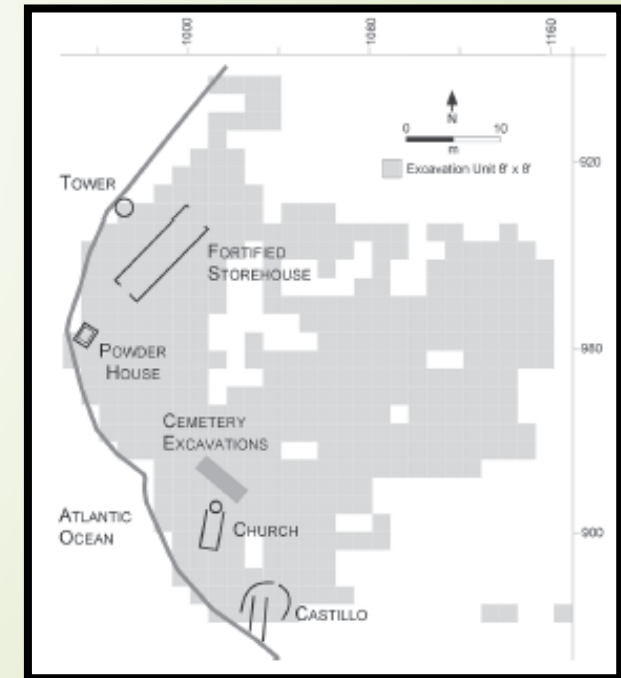
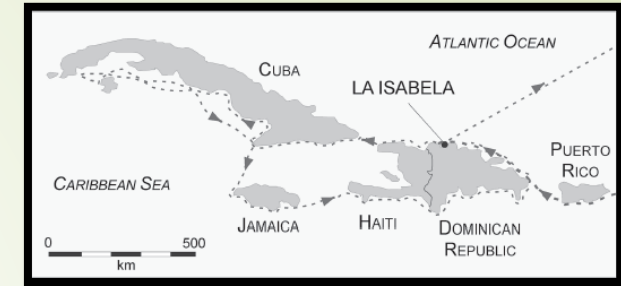
❖ Location: northwestern shore Dominican Republic



- **First European town** in the Americas (founded in January 1494)
- Small **cemetery** behind first and only church at **La Isabela**
- **Earliest known European** colonizers in the **New World**, except for Vikings in Newfoundland (North America) some 500 years before Columbus

❖ Historic background

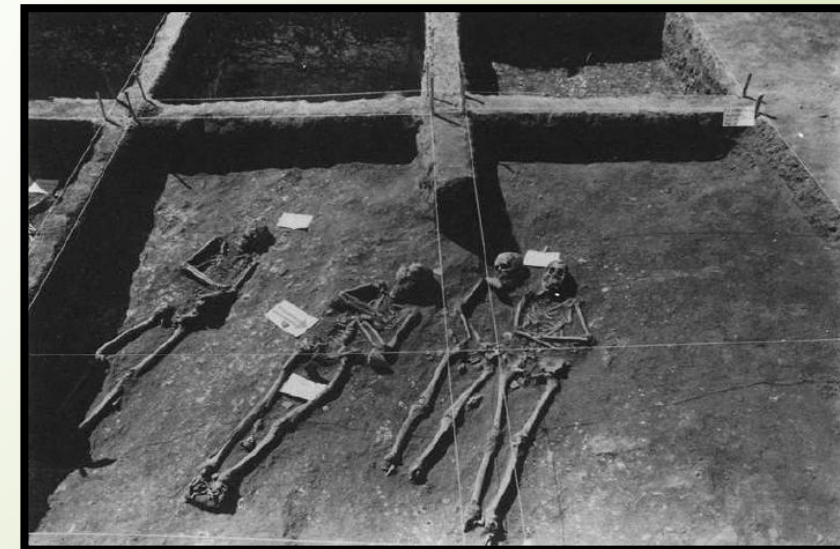
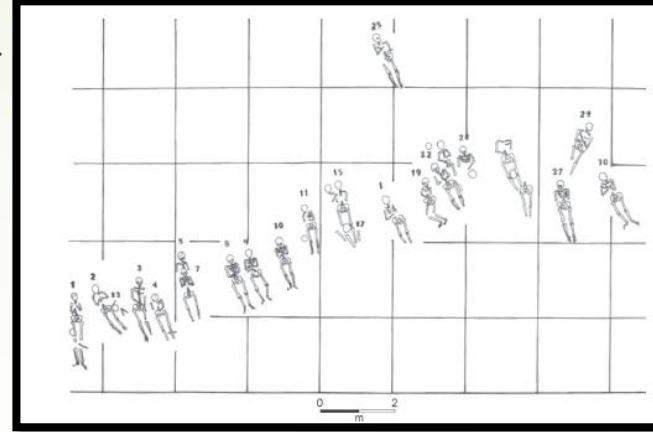
- **Columbus 2nd voyage** (17 ships, 1200 persons)
- On board: crop plants, and seeds, domestic livestock, tools & equipment
- Most of the crew from **Andalucía** + other geographical locations (historical sources)
- **Mostly males**: friars, craftsmen, miners, farmers and soldiers
- La Isabela: **four-year occupation**
- **Columbus ruled for 18 months** as colonial governor
- **Conditions rapidly deteriorated**: exhaustion, fatigue, sickness, increased anxiety because of aggression within group + from the “Taino”



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

❖ Funerary practices (archaeoethanatology + osteoarchaeology)

- **27 Individuals** investigated of 48 individuals
- Mostly males from **Spain**
- Unexpected females and infants
- **One local native Taino** (head shaping):
buried in or near house Columbus (deeper layer:
“near church, but maybe part of local “Taino” cemetery located in southern corner of site)
- **One individual** probably from **Africa**
- **Extended positions**, on back, **head-oriented westward**, arms crossed over chest
- Other **burials** consisted only of **mixed or secondary bone assemblages**
- **Severe scurvy** 20 individuals (lack of Vitamin C)
- Despite **favorable locations** shore bay
- Next to freshwater river
- New **environment difficult** for settlers
- More than **300 people shipped back**
- **Hunger, hardship**, disease and severely deteriorated hygienic conditions
- *Mal de bubas* (venereal syphilis)



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

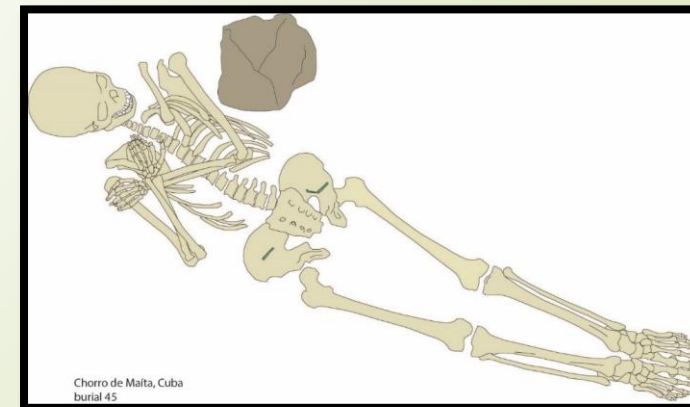
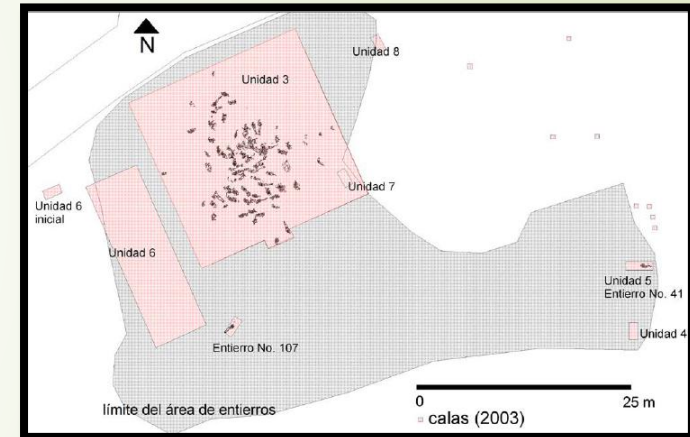
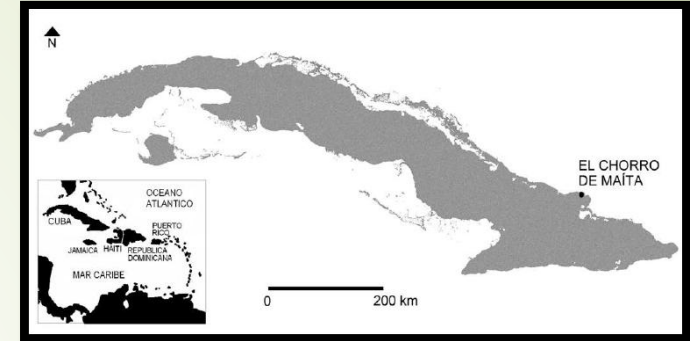
➤ b. El Chorro de Maíta (Cuba): multi-ethnic

❖ Location: northeastern Cuba

- Known for **body ornaments**
- Possible role as **hierarchical regional centre**
- Occupation **13th century till mid-sixteenth century**

❖ Historic background

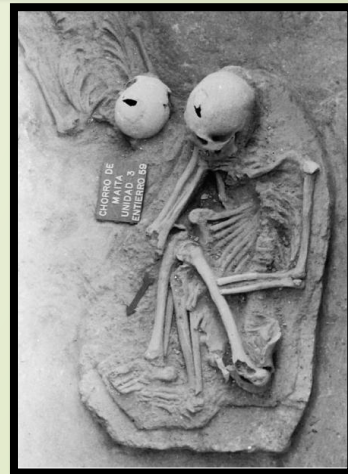
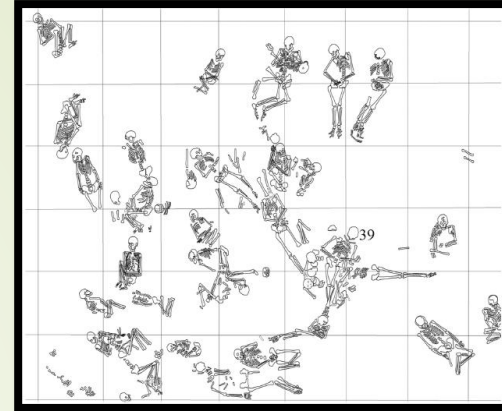
- **Late Ceramic Age site**
- Large number and **concentration of human burials**: cemetery
- **Deviates from precolonial sites** in region
- **Abundance of colonial-period burials**, European materials, presence of individual of **African origin**, while precolonial burials may already have been present, this cemetery was established upon interaction with Europeans
- **Not an independent** isolated, rebel or runaway **community**
- The creation of a **Christian cemetery**: importance religious influence
- One *ecomendado* village nearby
- Related to Hispanic labor schemes
- Mixed people with different legal status (**slaves, *encomendados***), ethnic and territorial identities
- **Indigenous community** with an *encomendada* population under a process of **Christianization**
- And some kind of **labor force within a native infrastructure**



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

❖ Funerary practices (archaeoethanatology + osteoarchaeology)

- Evaluating relationship of Indigenous with Europeans
- Burial ground: **108 burials containing remains of 133 individuals** (90 adults & 43 juveniles)
- **40% of colonial period**
- **Locals and non-locals**, from Cuba and beyond
- **One Mesoamerican** individual and one of African origin
- **Two Mestizos** (one **indigenous-European**, and one **Afro-European/mulato**)
- European (**metals, jet, brass, copper**) and indigenous (**coral, guarín**) grave goods & artefacts
- Large proportion of children (32.3%): **mortality peak at the 5-9 age group**
- Indicative of “**catastrophic cemetery**”: created by **single or short-term catastrophic** events (disasters or epidemics) – disease epidemics could have been the cause
- These reflect the living population more accurately than attritional cemeteries
- **Cemetery: multi-ethnic space** where Hispanic-derived religious practices coexist with indigenous practices
- **Flexed and extended/supine burials**
- Strong **protagonism of the indigenous elite**: recognizable by their ornaments Christian burial patterns



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

➤ c. Tipu (Belize): Indigenous

❖ Location: Southern Belize

- Tipu: a “**visita**” mission
- **Maya occupation** from 300 BC – 1707 CE
- First contact with **Spanish** authorities: **ca. 1544 CE**

❖ Historic background

- A **church** was **constructed**, and the community **cooperated** with **Spanish** tribute extractors and church authorities **until 1638 CE**
- Maya at Tipu (Tipuans) **joined a resistance movement** led by the **Itza Maya of Lake Peté** (rejected Christianity and Spanish control) and **rebelled** against Spanish authority and refused to participate in the colonial system
- Ties with **Spanish** authorities remained **severely disrupted** until **1695 CE**, when delegates visited Mérida to renew communications
- In **1707 CE**, Spanish authorities **relocated Tipu residents to Petén** (Guatemala)
- Partly because of the **Itza connection** + because of its **relatively remote location** on the Spanish colonial frontier, Tipu in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a **community in flux**



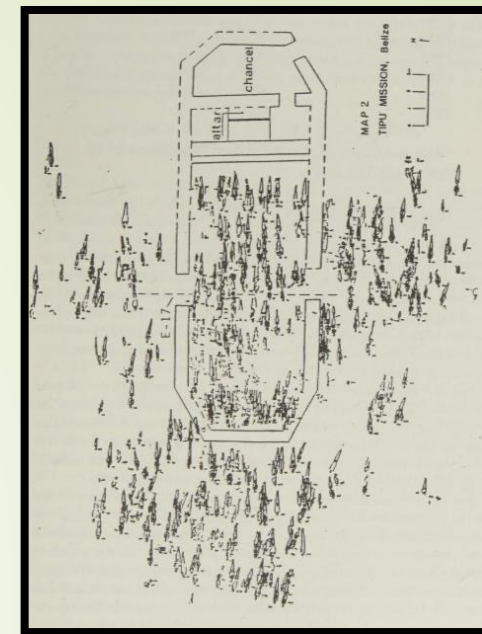
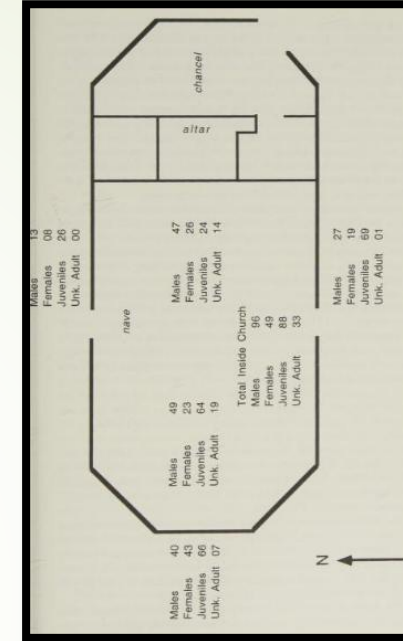
3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

❖ Funerary practices (archaeoethanatology + osteoarchaeology)

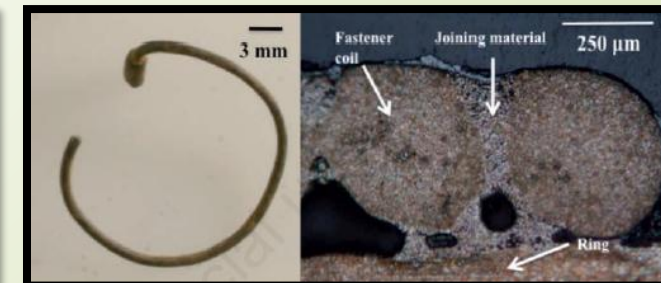
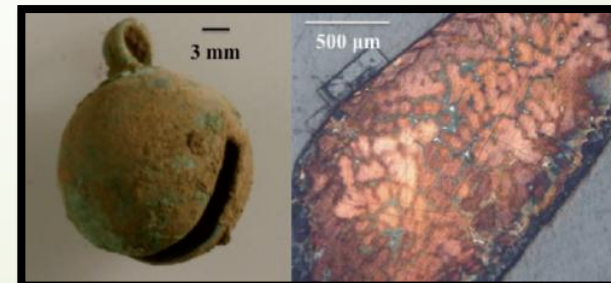
- The cemetery contains over **600 Maya burials** (270 complete)
- **Most** of the bodies follow a **Christian burial style**
- **Supine position** with **heads facing west** and **arms folded or at the sides**
- The few **exceptions** show **indigenous burial styles: flexed or seated**



- **Metal objects (grave goods)** served either as **adornments** (bells, lacetags, rings) or were part of **ritual practices associated with burial** (needles)
- **Both Mesoamerican and European traditions** played a role in their **production**
- The **confluence of traditions** reflected in the metals at Tipu is manifested in other ways
- The **lack of permanent Spanish residents at Tipu & difficulty** the Spanish faced in **controlling the Maya hinterland** introduced conditions in which the **Maya at Tipu could exercise relative freedom in forms of expression** and in the **construction of a local identity**
- **Metal objects**, however they **reached Tipu**, occurred in a **variety of forms**, were **appropriated** by a variety of individuals, and were **valued** enough to serve as **accompaniments in death**
- Importantly, it is likely that the **re-contextualization of European metals and artifact types** was accompanied by a **transformation in their value and meaning**



Object type	Burial	Surface findings	No context	Midden	Near burial	Wall collapse debris	West nave
Needles	16	0	0	0	1	0	0
Lacetags	8	0	0	0	0	0	1
Rings	25	0	1	0	0	0	0
Bells	7	5	1	1	0	1	0
Total	56	5	2	1	1	1	1



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

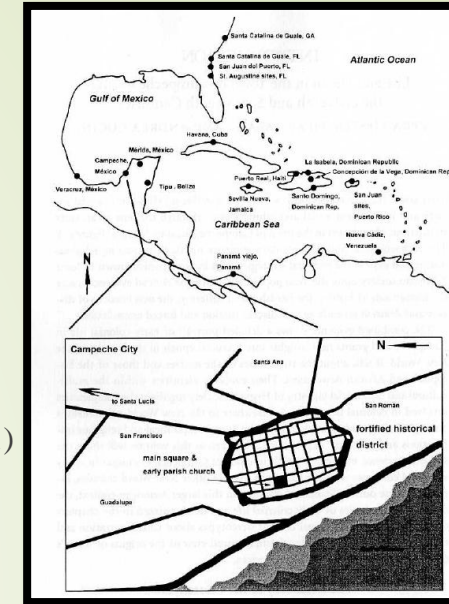
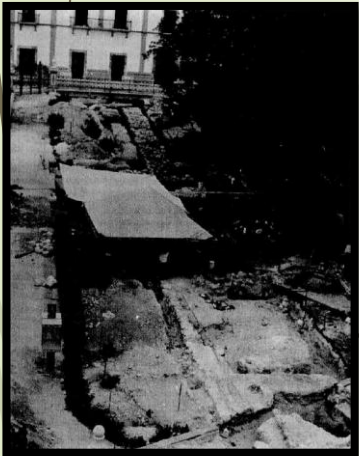
➤ d. Campeche (Mexico): multi-ethnic

❖ Location: Northwestern Yucatan

- Campeche's first church: second half of the 16th century – end of 17th century (140 years)
- **Earliest inhabitants** of this **Hispanic town**

❖ Historic background

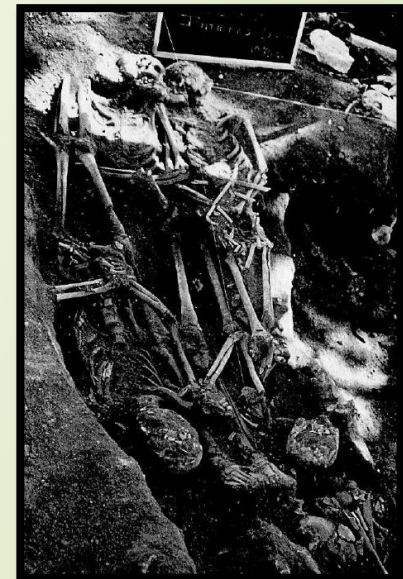
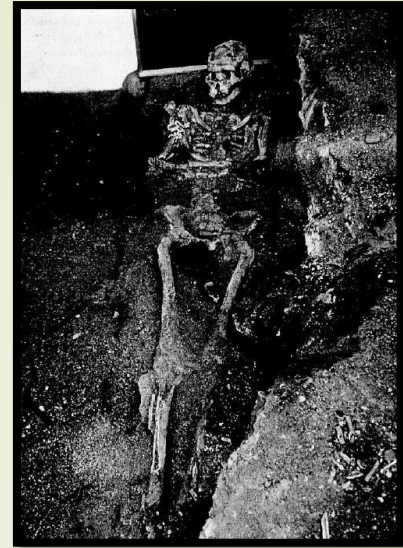
- San Francisco de Campeche was the **first Spanish municipality in the Yucatan Peninsula** (end of 1540, beginning of 1541)
- This marked **Spanish domination** in the **region** and would become **the main provincial port**
- Merida (administrative capital of Yucatan) was founded in 1542 sustaining the advance of the Conquest toward the north
- Expansion eastward: establishment of the town of Valladolid in 1543
- In 1544 the towns of Quintana Roo, Salamanca de Bacalar, was the last town to be established in the early colonial decades
- **Campeche** was conceived as a **trade center and shipyard** (its distinctive urban development showed from the start)
- Its **limited indigenous population** and the **continued immigration of Spaniards** prevented a **Maya majority** there
- The consequence was that **different customs and lifestyles evolved compared** to towns like **Merida and Valladolid**
- **Intermixing of the Spanish and Maya** was **less common in Campeche** than other urban centers
- **Creolization** occurred with the Campeche's **enslaved African segment**, although a minority in the province, the effects of **their presence would be felt**
- The **Spaniards planned** new **living spaces** for the **servant classes** within **city limits** to **ensure immediate and permanent access to goods and services**
- **Central blocks** reserved for **Spaniards** were **surrounded by new barrios** inhabited by native *naborios* (labor force brought to town), **descendants of Tlaxcaltecs** (arrived from Mexican highlands as **auxiliary army troops**), and **Africans** who had obtained their **freedom** (descendants of African slaves who had **participated in the Conquest**)



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

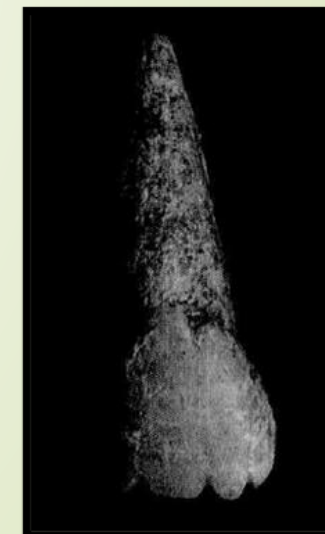
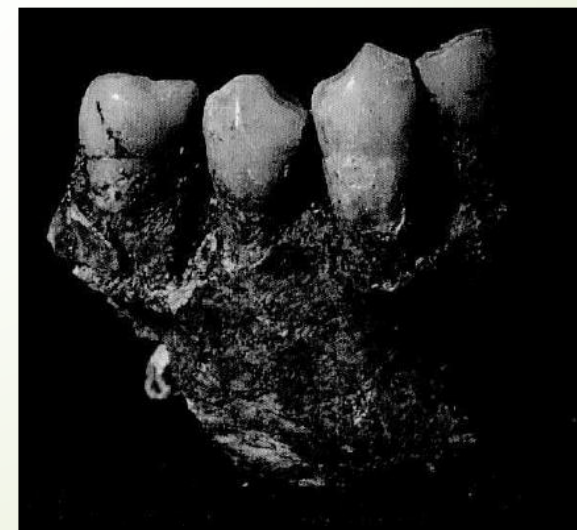
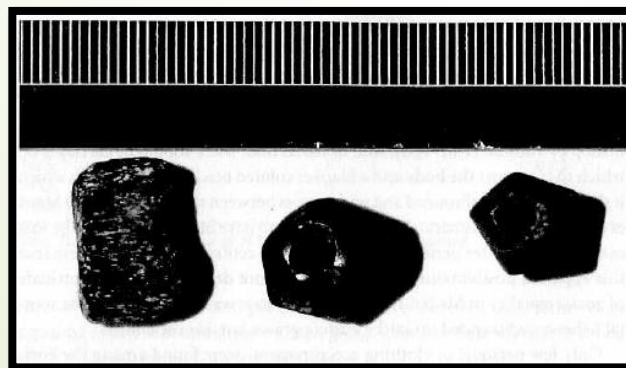
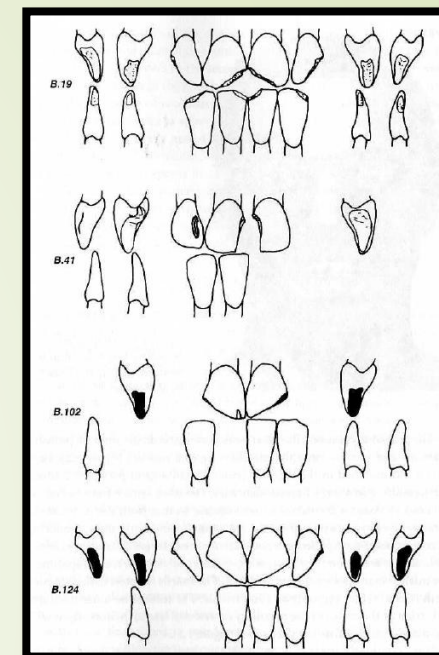
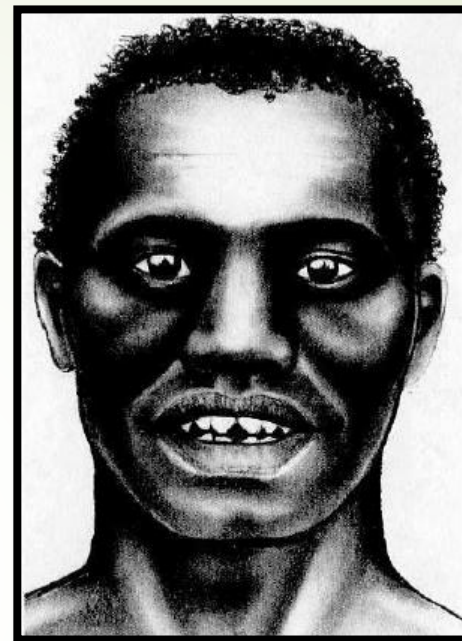
❖ Funerary practices (archaeoethnology + osteoarchaeology)

- Burials in church and churchyard in different levels (4): initial interments happened **inside church** and in the **grounds adjacent** to it
- In time, **the cemetery expanded and consumed remoter areas**: it was fed by new corpses at an increasing rate (mortality was high and population was growing)
- **New space had to be made available**: burial lots moved farther from church foundations until the limits of the churchyard were reached
- **Bodies interred in the last years of the cemetery's use** were in distant sections or were **dug into earlier burials**
- These last bodies were **closer to the surface** than the those interred before
- Of the **147 registered interments**, **122 were primary burials** (only 18 recovered completely – the others were slightly or severely disturbed)
- **Most of the primary burials contained a single corpse** and only **two housed more than one articulated body**
- The majority of the dead **laid on their backs** (111)
- Most of the burial population had been **shrouded at interment** (dominant in skeletal series from the main square)
- **No evidence of coffin use**
- **None were buried face down** ("prone" position): punishment for Christian mores (e.g. suicide, blasphemy)
- **Variation in anatomical arrangement of extremities**: **hands resting on abdominal area (26%)**, **hands folded on thoracic cage (15%)**, while less frequent was the positioning of hands on pelvis, skull and shoulders
- **Hands were separated** from each other or **in contact**, and some showed **their fingers folded**
- Few individuals with **arms extended along their sides**
- **Legs were mostly extended (94.5%)** and **rarely flexed (5.5%)**, **feet were separated or in contact with each other (77%)**, some **feet were crossed over each other (23%)**
- No pattern associated to burial chronology or ethnocultural patterns: **not syncretism** and **differentiated group identity**, but **lack of standardized body arrangements**



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

- Only two burials with grave goods: **burial 124** (adolescent 13-17 years: West African, dental decorations/isotopic signature) with **small colored beads** (some are **black jet beads**)
- And **burial 124** bore a devotional **medal of copper alloy** (outline with motifs on both sides; images could not be identified) which were **found in shipwrecks in frontier settlements before 1650**)
- **Dental decorations** constitute **important expressions** in different cultures and areas: **4 of 54 complete** frontal dentitions presented **artificial decoration** (African), **2 incisors** showed artificial change (**filing: indigenous Maya**)



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

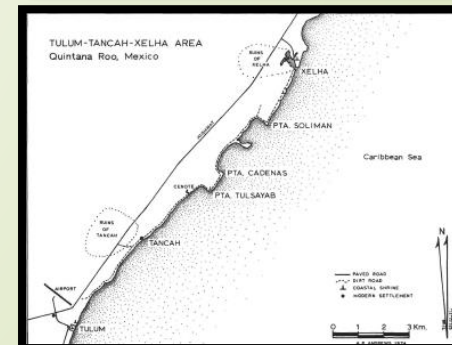
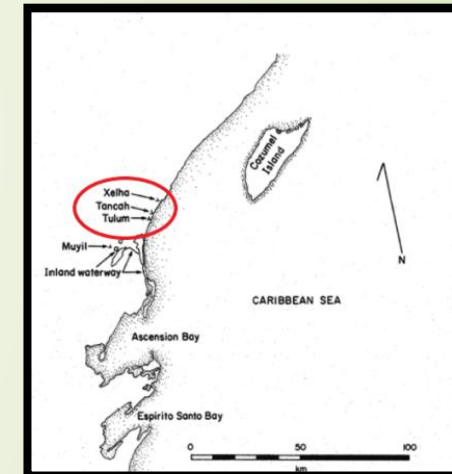
➤ e. Quintana Roo (Mexico): Indigenous

❖ Location: Northeastern Yucatan (Tancah)

- **Tancah-Tulum:** occupation began 300 B.C.
- At about **CE 770** (**first entrada**: Putun-Itza intrusion) and again at **ca. CE 1400** (**second entrada**), Tancah became a kind of linchpin in a **long-distance trade network** around the **Peninsula of Yucatan**
- Tulum's geographical situation and plan seem to suit well the needs of a **port of trade** at a time when strangers trading luxury goods "**were frequently at war with one another; slave raiding was constant; feuds, massacres and border violence the rule**"
- Tulum may have been a "**port of trade enclave**"

❖ Historic background

- **AD 770** marks the appearance in the archaeological record of a **distinctive mural-painting style**, architectural forms, and ceramic types
- The painting, in particular, is indicative of **non-Maya influences**: "**Mexicanized-Maya**" or "**Toltec-Maya style**"
- **ca. A.D. 1400** and marked by an **introduction of new ceramic, architectural, and mural forms**
- This suggests the **arrival of a highly trained group of mural specialists** from **outside the Tancah-Tulum region**
- The third **entrada** happened in **1518**: the **Spanish** appeared on the eastern horizon
- The east coast of Yucatan had already absorbed **two major waves of foreign influence** over a period of **six centuries**
- More than **anywhere else in Mesoamerica**, the **Spanish** met with a **policy of openness and nonviolence** on the part of the Maya
- Despite the open **East Coast Maya** attitude toward outsiders, **the influence of the Spanish** was of an essentially **different order** from that of the **Putun-Itza** and the **Putun-Nahua**
- **The Maya could not respond as in the past**: the result was **ultimately abandonment** rather than **cultural florescence**; even the adaptive **East Coast Maya** could not assimilate the **radically new cultural norms** introduced by the **Spanish**



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean



- ❖ Funerary practices (archaeoethanatology + osteoarchaeology)
- **Large number of fragmentary burials**
- **17 individuals in structure 42:** two assigned to the **Early Classic** (Tzakol), six to the **Middle Classic**, one to the **Late Classic** (Tepeu 3), and eight to the **Terminal or Post-Classic times**
- **27 individuals in structure 71: ca. CE 1543-1668** buried within a **Christian context**
- **Subadults:** Structure 42 : **7** and Structure 71: **9**
- **Adults:** Structure 42: **10** and Structure 71: **18**
- Seeming **absence of older adults** in both groups + **large number of late adolescents** (15-19 years) found in Structure 71
- **Age distribution**, plus the fact that all appeared to have **perished** within a brief time span soon after contact with the Spanish: **consistent with the effects of infectious disease on "virgin soil populations"**
- **Cranial shaping:** **5** individuals of structure 42 and **3** of structure 71
- **Dental decoration:** 1 burial (left lower central incisor) of structure 42, while one burial (left upper central incisor) and 3 individuals include incisors that may have been files
- **One individual is apparently a composite or hybrid of Maya and European physical characteristics**, thus lending special significance to his burial within a **Christian context**
- Others buried within Structure 71 may also represent the **original Maya** themselves or the **products of early matings between the Maya and the Spanish**
- **No remains** that could be classified as **non-Maya**

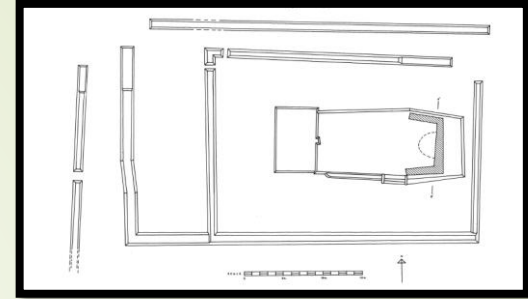


Fig. 60 Plan of Burials 14 and 15 from Tanch Str. 71.

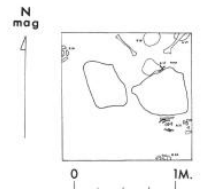


Fig. 61 Plan of Burial 27 from Tanch Str. 71 associated with a serpentine or jadeite bead.

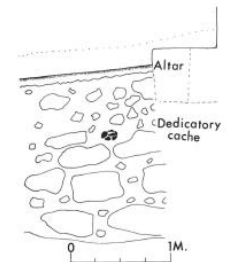


Fig. 62 North-south section of the altar area in Tanch Str. 71 showing the location of the dedicatory cache.

3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

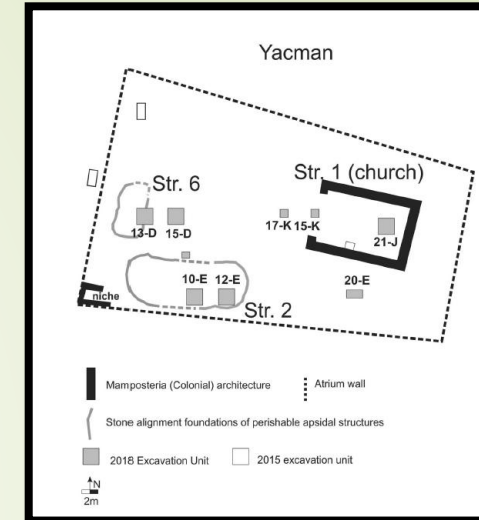
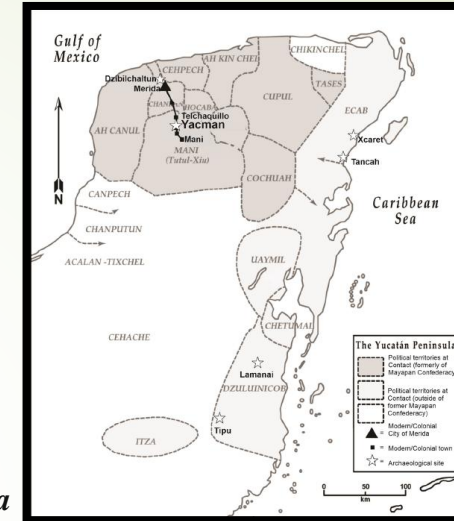
➤ f. Yacman (Mexico): Indigenous

❖ Location: Northern Yucatan

- The site is located to the south of the modern, **rural town of Mahzucil**, near two cenotes,
- **One** of these **cenotes** still bears the **name Yacman** today

❖ Historic background

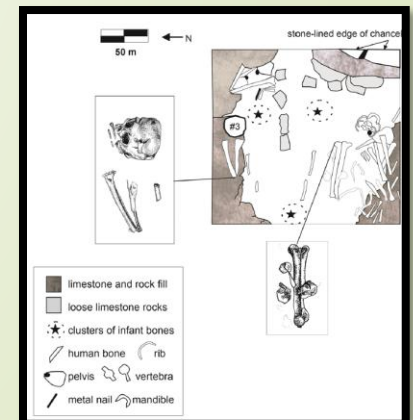
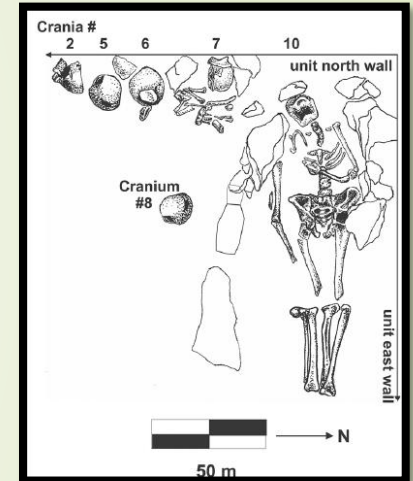
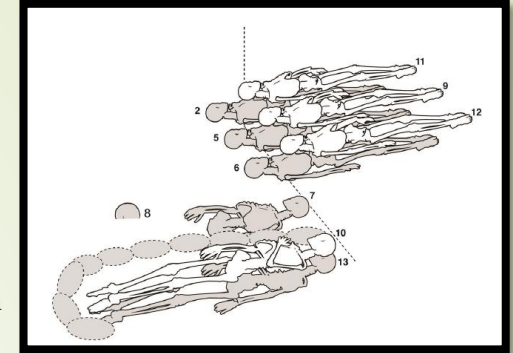
- Yacman was **likely a small Indigenous hamlet at Spanish contact** chosen for establishing a *visita*
- Many initial *visitas* took **advantage of existing Maya settlements**
- The site exhibits **no infrastructural evidence of a planned colonial town**
- The **church** itself is on a **large platform**, built originally in the **Pre-Columbian era**
- **Typologies** published for the **evolution of church styles** in the **Yucatan peninsula** do **not fit** well for the **Yacman case**
- It was located on a road between more important places, including the Franciscan center of Maní (former capital of Indigenous political unit of the same name) and Tichac (modern Telchaquillo)
- **Yacman** shows up on a **1557 map of Maní polity towns**
- **The Xiu** (homeland was Maní), as well as the **Cocom, Chel**, and **other nobility** from **10 northwest polities** were part of a **unitary regional state** from around **1185-1448 CE** known as **Mayapán** (confederated government)
- **Yacman's colonial leaders** were of the **Xiu family**
- Initial **cooperation** of **Xiu lords** to the **Spaniards** helped to **position this polity** advantageously in the **early colonial years**
- Soon afterward, **Xiu leaders** joined with **other Maya nobility** in acts of **rebellion** against Spanish authority



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

❖ Funerary practices (archaeoethnatology + osteoarchaeology)

- **Yacman's mass grave** is located in the **central part** of the **nave** toward the **front** of the **church**
- **Burials** have **not** been **located outside the church** (in the **atrium**) at Yacman, in **contrast** to other **contemporary mission** settings in the **Yucatan** peninsula
- Aside from its conspicuous location within the church, the mass grave also **dates to the colonial period** by association with **three, elongated, cut nails** recovered from within the comingled human remains (the **only European artifacts** found to date at Yacman)
- The human skeletal material represents **at least 15 individuals** ranging from **infants** (3 + a 12-year old) to **adults** (11)
- Overall, age distributions and mortuary patterns do **not suggest catastrophic circumstances**, such as epidemics or conflict
- Differences through time, indicated by the lowest layer and subsequent burials above, suggest a more complex scenario
- **Christian-style interments at Yacman** represent **only** during the **first generation of deaths** - the earliest, deepest interments
- **Supine positions, left arm crossed** over the **chest** and the **right one extended** to the **side**
- **Cranial and tooth modification** of the remains of some individuals **reflect continued practices** from the era just **prior** to **Spanish contact** that were key signifiers of **Maya social identity**
- **Tabular erect cranial modification** is present in **six** of 13 skulls
- One **old adult female** with this skull shape also exhibits upper **incisors filed to points**
- All **evidence points** to a **reversion** to more **traditional Pre-Columbian mortuary practices** of **bundling interments** (likely **flexed**), as well as the **movement of previous remains**, and some **arrangement of bones**, as observed commonly in graves of **Postclassic Mayapán**
- **Multiple, sequential Pre-Columbian style interments** indicate the use of the **church nave as a mausoleum**, **disturbing** and **dispersing the bones** of **prior burials**
- **Stone-lined cist burials** resembling those of **Pre-Columbian versions** may have been a nod to the deeper **Maya past**
- **None of these overlying, later remains** exhibited a **Christian, extended, supine position**



3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean

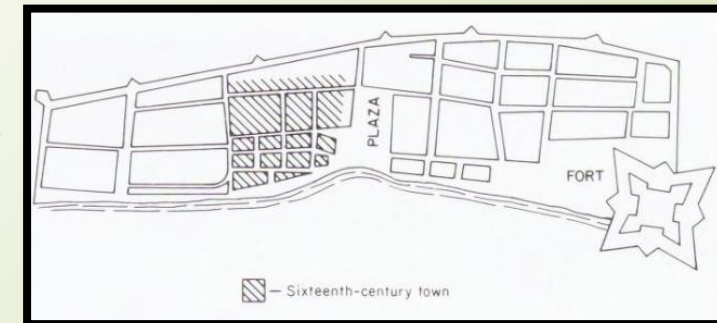
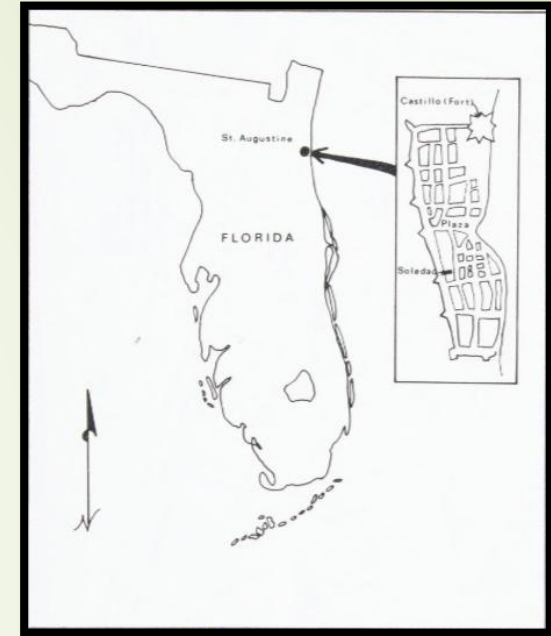
► g. St. Augustine (Florida): multi-ethnic

❖ Location: Eastern Florida

- **Laid out in Hispanic manner:** around a **central plaza**
- The church, banks, public buildings and governor's mansion are **located on the plaza**
- **Establishment in 1565:** joint venture between Pedro Menéndez de Aviles (Conquistador) and King of Spain

❖ Historic background

- In 1563 the **Spanish Crown** was gravely **concerned** about the **French** encroachment in the **Spanish New World**
- **No large, sedentary** and fully **agricultural indigenous population** inhabited **east Florida**
- **St. Augustine** became a **male-dominated garrison** (*presidio*)
- A deterrent from **pirate attacks against the fleet** being launched from Florida
- The **population grew** in the **17th century**: through the importation of labor, for **the Castillo**
- This included indigenous peoples from **west and central Florida**, from the **present day Georgia coastal area** and from **convict labor** throughout the **Caribbean**
- In **1701: war broke out in Europe** – **Spain** allied with **France** against **England**
- The **(first) Spanish period** ended in **1763: Florida** ceded to **England** in exchange for **Havana** (terms of the first Treaty of Paris)
- **England** occupied **Florida for 20 years**, until **1783** (agreements of second Treaty of Paris)
- **Next 40 years** under **Spanish control**, until it became **American** territory in **1821**

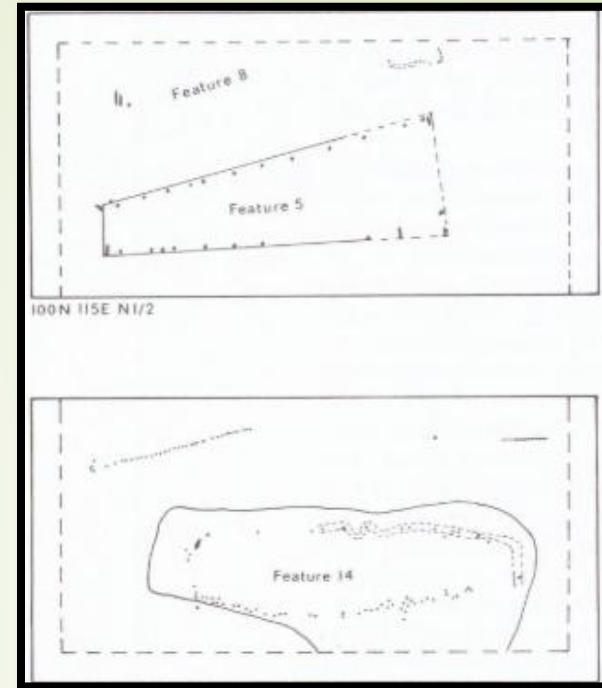


3. Indo-Hispanic Cemeteries in the Circum-Caribbean



❖ Funerary practices (archaeoethnatology + osteoarchaeology)

- **Unmarked parish burial ground**
- **Spanish** and **British** burials
- A total of 40 proveniences associated with burials
- This represented **28 distinct burials**
- **Supine/extended positions**
- **Shrouds**
- **Coffin burials**
- **Spanish** coffin burials: **rectangle** and **tapered rectangle**
- **British** coffin burials: **hexagonal**
- **Disarticulated remains**
- Articulated burials **partially disturbed**
- **Older burials** were routinely **dug into** and the **bones redeposited** in the wake of newer burials
- **One non-Caucasian (Indigenous or Mestizo):** Spanish internment



4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)

➤ a. Late Medieval concepts of body and soul

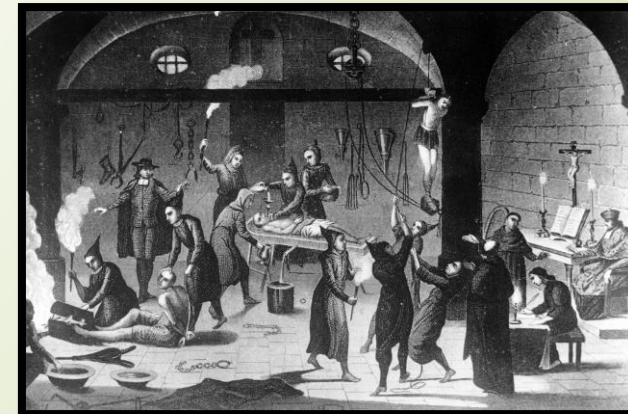
❖ The Old World – Europe

- Christianity

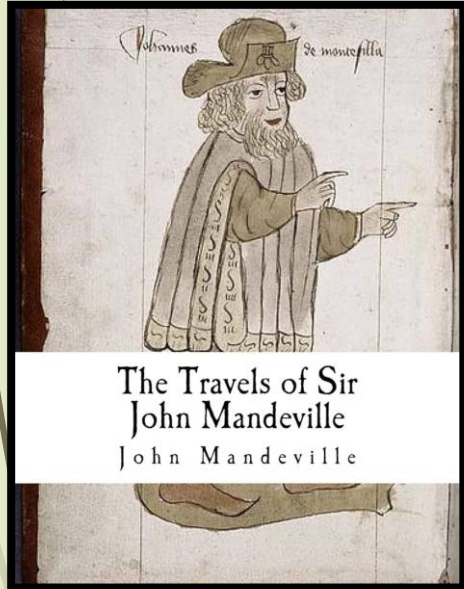


The **Earth** as the **center of the Universe** was the fundamental premise in the late medieval **Catholic worldview** and it was perceived as a **battle-ground** between the **forces of God** and his **Church** headed by the **Pope** and the **demonic forces of evil** tempting humanity into **sin, heresy, witchcraft, and apostasy**

Faithful **Catholics** had to **obey** to the **moral teaching of the Church** and to seek **forgiveness** through the **sacrament of Penance, praying, the purchase of a letter of indulgence, and gifts to the Church**. These men with true faith were **surrounded by a world of infidels, pagans, Muslims, etc.** The **Spanish Inquisition** founded in **1478** by **King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile** had task was to **protect the kingdom** from the **evil influences** of heretics by **trial and brutal persecution** of the suspected **infidels**



4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)



- The **expectations** of the Spanish on the encounter of peoples in the ‘New World’ was clearly **prejudiced** by the **medieval travel accounts** by **Marco Polo** and **John Mandeville** who described the **monstrous people** inhabiting the lands and islands in the **East**
- One of these **monstrous tribes** were the men with no head or **Blemmyae** already **mentioned** in the writings of **Roman authors**
- **Polo** and **Mandeville** made also account of their **cannibalistic practices, sacrifice and eating of children** that was also attributed by the **Catholic inquisition** to ‘**witches**’
- In this line of expectation, the **Spanish Crown** and the clergy of the new colonies was dispatching **inquisitional commissions** to investigate whether the **natives** of the **Greater Antilles** were **animals, devils, witches or humans**, and whether they **had a soul or not**
- At the same time **Indigenous people of Puerto Rico** were investigating whether the **Spanish** were **gods or humans** by **drowning the white people** they had captured in order to find out, **after lengthy observation** whether or not the **corpses** were **subject to putrefaction**
- From a **perspectivist point of view** the **Indigenous from Puerto Rico** never **questioned** whether the **Spanish** had a **soul**, but whether the **Spanish** had a **body** like their own or a **non-putrescible spirit-body**



4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)

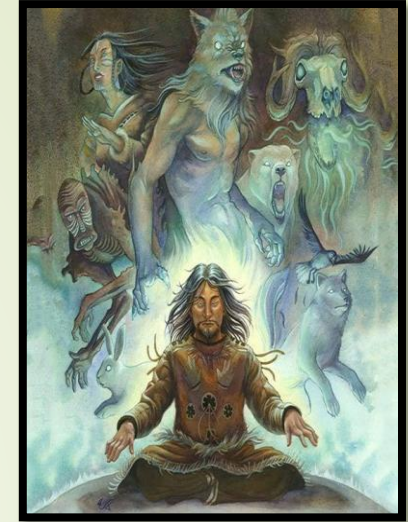
❖ The New World – America

- Many similarities of concepts of the body and soul



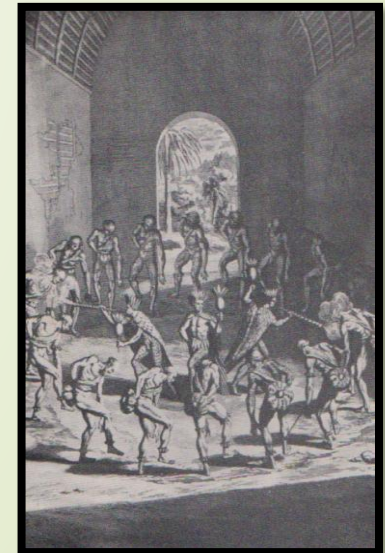
According to (H)Arakmbut from the Peruvian Amazone:

“the **physical** property of the body **separates a person** from all others, whereas the **soul is a dynamic, invisible substance** which is **constantly seeking contact outside**. [...] The effect is a **total contrast** to the **occidental view** of the **soul** as the **unique and essential aspect of a person** because, for the (H)Arakmbut, whereas the **body gives a distinct form to a person**, the *nokiren* [soul] reaches out in dreams to others - not just **humans** but also [other] **species and spirits**” (Gray 1997: 120)



According to **Makuna** (Colombia/Brazil Amazon):

“at **death** the **soul leaves the body** and **travels** to the **world** of the **divine spirit-owners of the death**. Here, the body is **cooked** and the **soul is sent back as a person-spirit** to the **birth-house** of the **exogamous group**. Here, it comes **alive as a spirit person**. At the **birth of a child**, the **spirit of a deceased grandfather or a grandmother travels** from the **house of the dead** to the **house of the living** and **enter the body** of the **new-born child**, who thus become identified with the dead ancestor whose name it receives (Århem 1998)



4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)

- Central in concepts of **birth and dead**: the **reversible process of transformation** between **different life worlds**, and between **physical form** and **spiritual essence** as **birth** is the **embodiment of a spirit**



- Death separates the soul from the body** and involves a passage from the differentiated universe of **corporal forms** to the undifferentiated world of **spiritual essence**
- The soul of a diseased person may easily turn into an **animal**, and much of the work of **Makuna shamans** aims at **securing the cycling of souls within the human life world**
- The **shaman is essential** to regulate this vital **flow of spiritual essence** between the worlds of the **living**, the **dead**, and the **ancestral spirits** and to **safeguard a well-balanced reproduction** of the **different classes of beings** populating the **Makuna cosmos**



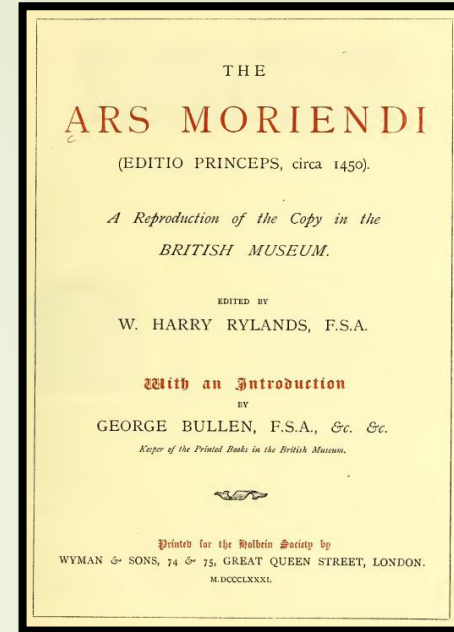
4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)

➤ b. Late Medieval deathways

❖ The Old World – Europe



- The **intervention of the living for the deceased** was a critical duty as in the ideal of **Christianity**
- The **dying person** was supposed to die **reconciled to God and the world**
- The **funerary ritual** comprised **two objectives** as the dying person **seeks reconciliation with the living** and **they** on their turn **recommend him or her in God's grace**
- On the **Day of Judgement** the **good** would be separated from the **evils**
- An edition of the book ‘**Ars Moriendi**’ (the art to die in the proper way) served as a **guidebook**
- The **fate of the body and the soul** during the interim between **passing away** and the **Last Judgement** was a subject of **much debate**
- In the **late medieval point of view** the **duality of body and soul** was emphasized: the **soul** was **disconnected from the body** within a couple of **days**
- The destiny of the good ones was **heaven**, of the bad ones it was **hell**, and the place for the ones not so good or so evil is the **purgatory**, where their final fate will be determined



4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)

➤ Christian Medieval Burials

- In **preparation** of the **burial** the **body** of the deceased was **washed in water** as a symbolic act for **cleansing of the soul** and **freeing it from sins**
- The body was then wrapped in a **shroud** and placed in a **casket**
- During the vigil **family, neighbours** and **friends purified** the deceased by **praying, singing hymns**, and eventually **a mass** was said
- The deceased was placed in a **coffin** in a **supine position** in the way **Paul** had **described the dead** as **sleeping people** before the **Day of Judgement** in his Epistle to the **Corinthians**
- In the **Early Middle Ages**, the **arms** were mostly hold **along the body**, and in the **Late Middle Ages** they we **crossed on the chest**
- From the early Middle Ages on, church authorities prescribed burying the dead as the only recognized form of corpse care for true Catholics
- The **church building** and the **surrounding grounds** played an important role as the **church building** would act as the **gateway to heaven** on the day of the **final judgment**



Burial. The corpse is inhumed in a shroud.



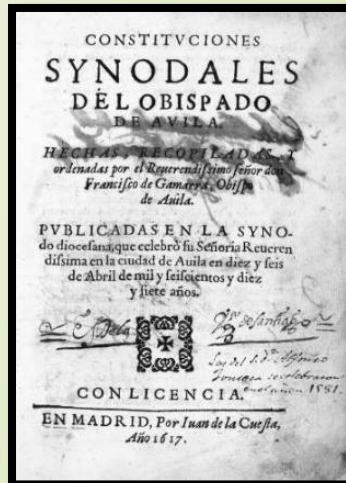
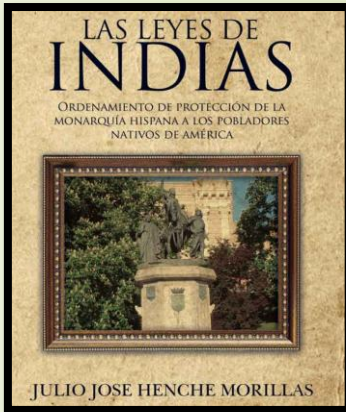
Burial



4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)

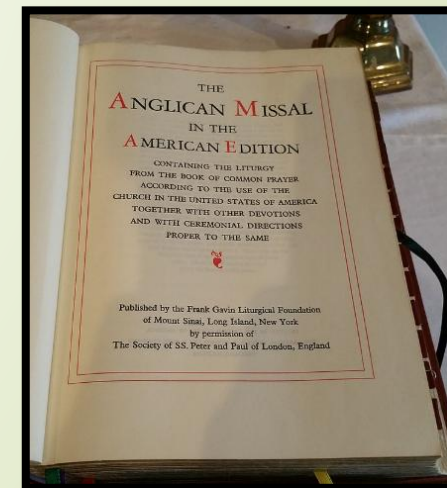
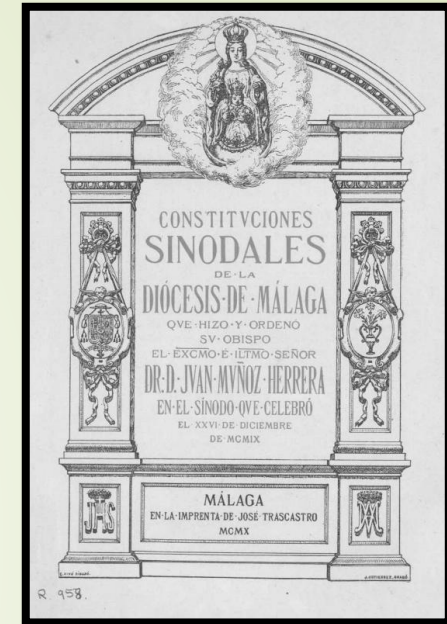
➤ What expression did Catholic religious dominance find in the New World funerary practice?

- **Iberian Regulations and Burial Traditions** (16th and 17th centuries):
 - A. *Leyes de las Indias* (monarchal laws)
 - B. *Constituciones sinodales eclesiásticas* (canonical laws)
- These regulated **civic and religious conduct in Spain’s colonies** and possessions throughout the colonial era
- There are **no clear dicta** governing administration of the **Catholic sacraments and mortuary rites** in the **early decades** of the Spanish colonies
- According to **Spanish law**, not only was the **handling of the body** and its **location of disposal** regulated, but the act of burial had to be controlled by **priests and *encomenderos***
- The (newly) established laws posit only that **Christian internments must be performed inside the churches** or in a **specific sanctified plot** surrounding them
- Every aspect of **mortuary ritual** was under the **exclusive jurisdiction of the Catholic Church**
- Until the **19th century** death was **secularized**, after a long and controversial process of civil religious adjustments
- The *constituciones sinodales eclesiásticas* do **not include** any **clear directives** on the forms of internment of **each race**
- **All members** of the congregation could be interred **inside or outside** of the **church regardless of their ethical affiliation**
- There was **discrimination of an economic sort**: duties had to be paid for occupying a burial lot (depended on the space for the interment)
- Parish rights of the *constitución sinodal* of 1722 prescribe **different tariffs** for both different **burial plots** and different **funerary services**
- **Nine sections** of the *constitución* specify the **ritual that takes place between death and internment**: depending on the degree of funerary pomp, **the appropriate steps to follow and the amount to be paid** are prescribed for each ceremony
- **Choice of location**: the expensive plots inside the church were exclusively within the **reach of wealthy families**
- The **highest prices** were reserved for plots that lay **close to the main altar**, with **prices decreasing** as the distance from the **altar increased**
- The **lowest tariffs** corresponded to burial plots in the **church atrium** or to **sanctified ground around the church**, which accommodated the **poor**



4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)

- **Overcrowding of burial grounds** became a **widespread problem** in the colonies set off a series of inhumation practices
- **Example:** the bishop of the Yucatan province, Fray Fransisco de Toral, advised his fellow parish priests and vicars that the dead were to be buried inside the churches and in the cemeteries surrounding them, cautioning that the **burial pits be made very deep**
- **Spatial organization norms** were also **developed** for **internments**
- The 1671 *Constituciones sinodales de Málaga*, as well as the **ceremonial Missal of 1721** state that **corpes** – the dead awaiting salvation and receiving the blessings dispensed during religious ceremonies – were commonly buried with their **feet toward the church or altar** (the **body faced the focal point of redemption**)
- **Only priests** were placed with an **oppositional position**, to face and attend their congregation even after death (**feet toward parishioners and head toward altar**)
- The **Spanish followed this practice regardless** of whether **cemeteries** were **outside or inside** the **church property** walls or inside the church structure itself
- The Catholic doctrine specified **austerity** in the handling of death, **prohibiting** the introduction of **lavish textiles** or items made of **gold and silver**: the body should **be interred only in the plain clothing** necessary for enveloping it properly
- Three reasons for these prohibitions:
 - A. Lavish clothing would be of **no benefit** to the deceased
 - B. It would require **unnecessary expenditures** from the surviving family
 - C. The presence of riches in the burial ground **would spark greed** in third parties and encourage grave looting and profanation



4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)

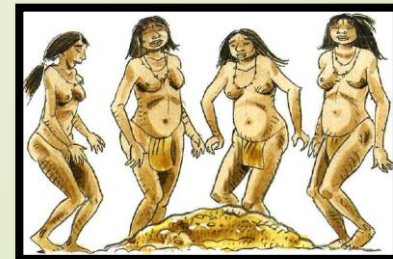
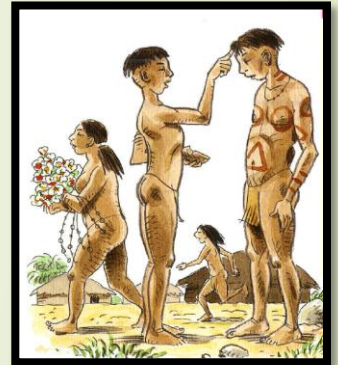
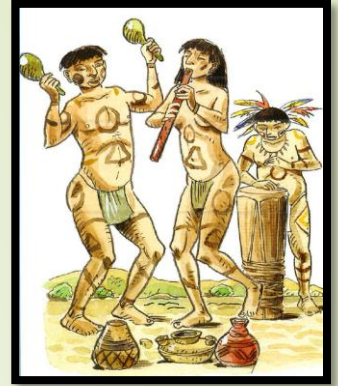
- **Colonial Indigenous Christian** cemeteries commonly have **rows of individual, supine burials oriented east-west**
- **One or both arms** of the Christian dead may be over the **chest** or may **extend down the side of the body** within the **church or atrium**
- These **supine, crossed-arm** positions were **Christian grave styles** promoted by **Spanish friars**
- 1. The **Spanish friars** insisted **upon burial of the entire body: cremation** (e.g. Maya) was anathema, because Christianity promised the resurrection of the body, thus the **body must remain intact**
- 2. The same beliefs that dictated burial, motivated **proper preparation of the body** (washing and preserving the body, sometimes with **myrrh**, and wrapping it in the white linen of purity – dated to the 5th century and earlier) – ritual also included **sprinkling the body with holy water and incense**
- 3. **Crosses or other symbols of Christianity** were sometimes buried with the body – placing **animals** with the body was considered a **pagan** practice
- 4. Christian burial demanded **internment** in **consecrated ground within or around a church**
- 5. **Status** – religious, economic, or that due to some other attainment (age, sex) – generally **determined burial placement**
- 6. An attempt was made to inter burials in **orderly rows** with proper head orientation, although **overcrowding** sometimes undermined this practice
- **Burials with the faces to the East:** the outcome of the belief of the **resurrection of the body** + from the **East** shall come the final **summons** to **Judgement**
- **Mounds** and **circular ditches** were avoided: considered **pagan**
- There was separate treatment for **suicides**, **baptized pagans**, and **unbaptized infants**



4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)

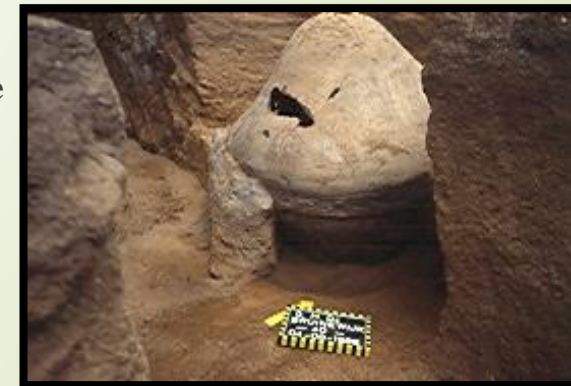
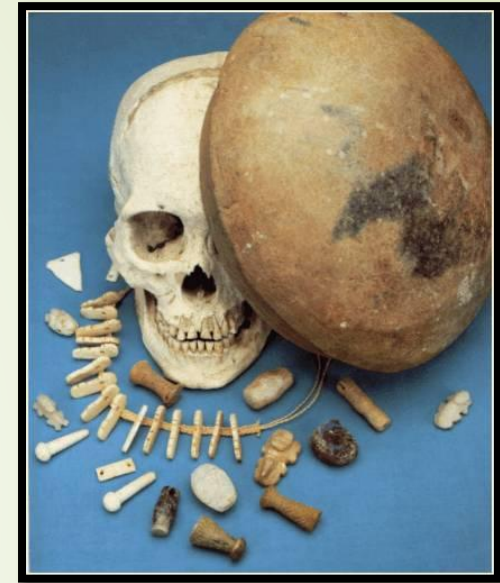
❖ The New World – Amazonia/Insular Caribbean

- Deathways **vary greatly** among the different **Amazonian peoples** (even within one people), but **three customs stand out**
1. **One is the practice to bury** the deceased member of the household **under the house floor**
 - The house is for many Amazonian peoples the representation of the **cosmos**, the deceased are often **buried inside their house**
 - The **communal house** or *atta* among the Yekuana of the Upper Orinoco "is not only conceived of as a **self-contained universe**, but is actually constructed as **a replica of the cosmos**"
 - The **central post** of the house (or village) represents the pivot through which the **natural** and **spiritual worlds** are **connected**
 - **Burials in Circum-Caribbean** consisted of burials of the dead in and around the **living areas**, next to the **houses**, in **food refuse** and **burned deposits**
 - The **deposition of the dead** in this **dynamic living environment**, as well as the intentional manipulation and disinterment of parts of the corpse, is suggestive of a **lack of separation** between **the physical and sociocultural realms** of the **living and the dead**
 2. **Another practice is exposing the body** of the deceased and witnessing the process of **skeletonization** (2 functions)
 - (1) It allowed the **community** to **monitor** the **state of the corpse** and, hence, assess the **progress** of the dead person's **soul in the afterlife**
 - As long as the **corpse is intact**, the **soul** of the dead person **is close by** and **extremely dangerous** to living **family members**
 - (2) The state of **complete skeletonization** is the sign that the **soul** has **reached** its **final destiny**
 - **Parts of the deceased** were likely kept in the **houses** as **medium to communicate with the spirits of the ancestors** and ultimately redeposited, **scattered** throughout the **living area**
 - **Removal of crania** and other **bones** of the dead occurred when the **body was fully or almost fully skeletonized**, and would have involved **close interaction** with the physical remains of the dead



4. The Confrontation of Diverse Worldviews (“cosmovision”)

- These **intentional acts of engagement** with the **dead body** most likely occurred within a **year or so** of burial
 - **The majority of the soft tissues** of the corpse would have **decayed**, but when the **memory** of the deceased was still very much **alive**
 - The **engagement with the corpse**, which would have been associated with **important sensory and olfactory experiences**, suggests that the **dead continued to affect the world of the living**, and that (parts of) the body, **especially crania**, retained **agency after death**
3. **Another form of funerary practice** is mentioned in the early Spanish chronicles and involved the **placement of selected bones of the deceased relatives in an *higüero* (gourd, calabash) vessel or a basket**, that then was hung inside the house
- In Indigenous villages on the Lesser Antilles Spanish sailors also encountered **human remains kept in baskets under the roof of houses**
 - **Gourd or basket burials** also are mentioned for Hispaniola in **two related Taino myths** about the **origin of the ocean and fish** (collected by Ramón Pané at the end of the 15th century)
 - This **practice implies** that **selected bones or crania** are specifically **collected from primary interments** and brought into a **household** context as an object of **ancestor worship**
 - This practice was interpreted as a **proof of cannibalism instead of ancestor worship** by keeping bones of close relatives as a **medium to communicate with the ancestor spirits**
 - This **mortuary ritual** later **repudiated** by the **European colonizers** during the early years of colonization
- These **extended deathways** show a **close connection with guidance of the soul** of the deceased person to the world of the ancestor spirits, an **essential task** of a **spiritual specialist**
 - During the **process of bodily decay**, the **spirit can harmfully affect the living members** of the society
 - A balanced **recycling of spiritual essence** within the **beings in the cosmos** is of importance for **life subsistence of the society** in the close future
 - The **landscape** of the living and dead appear to have been **one**
 - **Grave goods** are common, while also **animals** can be buried alone or with humans
 - Placement of burials—in predominantly **flexed body positions**—commonly seen in and around the houses and living areas, and **no discernible patterns in orientation of the body toward the cardinal directions**
 - The **manipulation of the buried body and removal of body parts** appears to have been part of a broadly held **mortuary ritual throughout the region**, and points to a **belief system** in which the **skeletal remains of previous generations** retained importance and **agency in the living community**

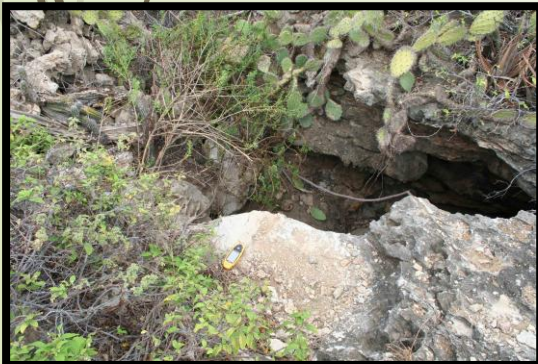
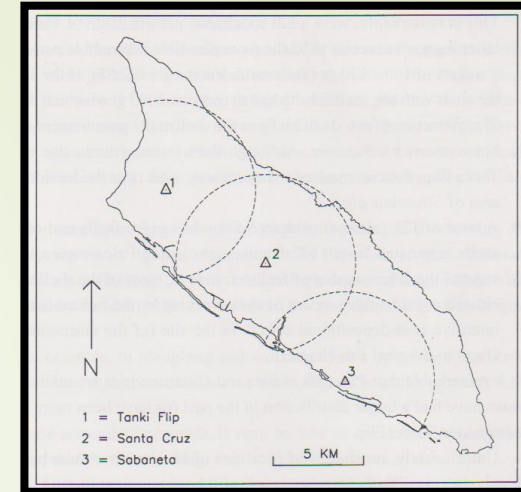


5. Transformations in Deathways and Lifeways in Aruba

➤ a. Aruba during the pre-Columbian Caquetio Period (900/1000 – 1515 C.E.)

There are **six ways** of **burying** the dead of the Caquetio (Dabajuran) people of Aruba identified until now

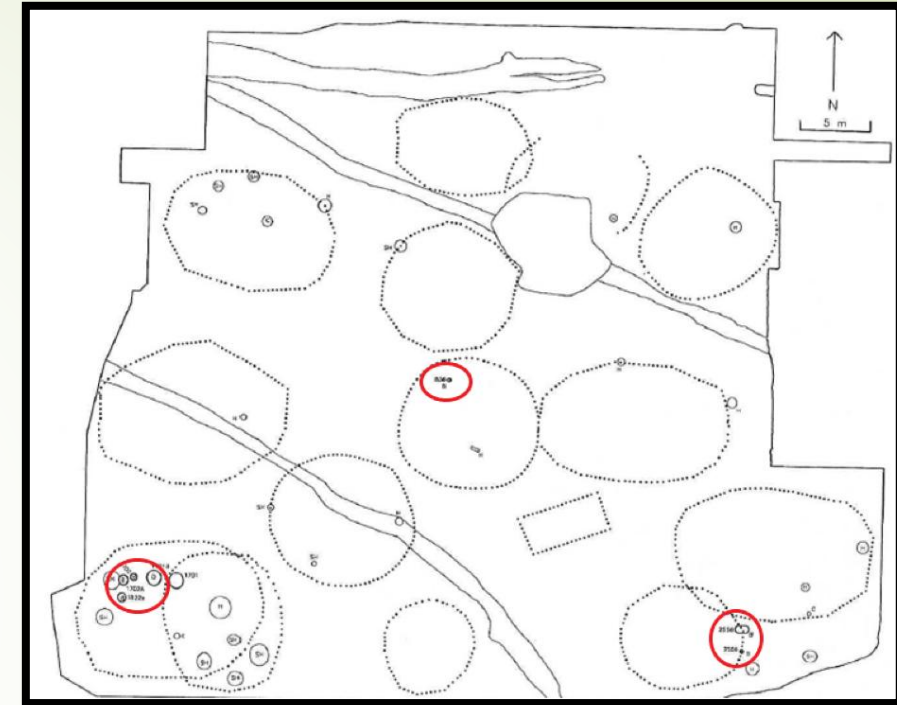
1. The individual is buried in a pit (the soil): primary burial with/without grave goods;
2. The individual (parts) is buried in a pit (the soil): secondary burial with/without grave goods;
3. The individual is buried in an urn; the first kind is the 'primary urn burial' – with/without grave goods;
4. The individual is buried in an urn; the second kind and most common urn burial is the 'secondary urn burial' – with/without grave goods;
5. The individual(s) is buried in a cave/abri – primary burial (Budui)
6. The individual(s) is buried in a cave/abri – secondary burial (Jara)



5. Transformations in Deathways and Lifeways in Aruba

❖ Tanki Flip

- **All juveniles in urns:** both single and multiple burial-urns (**secondary**)
- In **all the multiple burials adults** were buried with at least **one juvenile**
- All juveniles with an estimated age of 0-3 years were buried under **inverted urns**
- Almost **all** of the burials contained **grave goods** comprising of un-perforated shell-beads, with the **exception** of two burials in which the remains of the new-borns were recovered
- **No clear pattern on orientation** of the **body** or **face** could be established

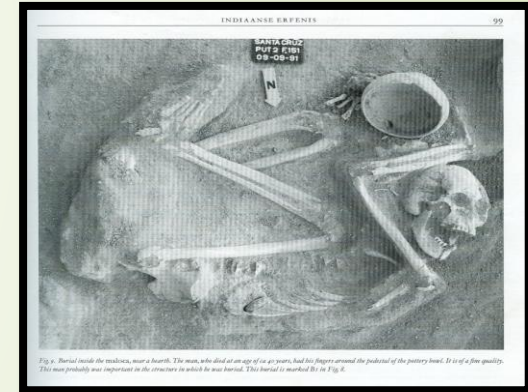
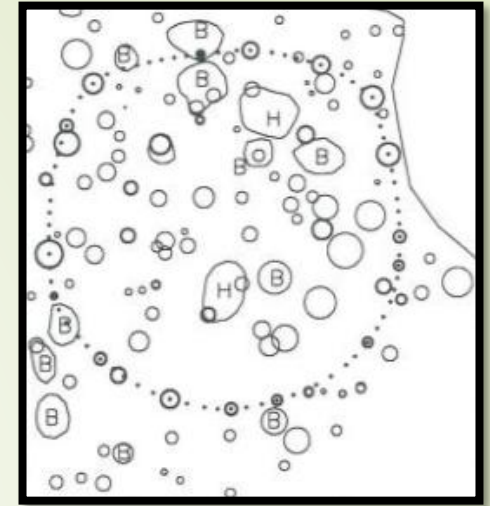


5. Transformations in Deathways and Lifeways in Aruba

❖ Santa Cruz



- The majority of the burials were **single burials**, both **primary and secondary**
- **Four multiple burials** (12%) were found on this site
- Of 33 burials, **14 were primary burials**, **four secondary**, and **15 unknown**
- All the **urn burials** were **single burials**
- **Not all single burials** contained **burial urns**
- In the **majority** of the burials **grave goods** were found (66%)
- All the juveniles with an estimated age of **1-3 and 4-6 years** had **grave goods** interred with their remains
- **No clear pattern** could be distinguished between the **presence or absence** of **grave goods** in relation to individuals of a particular **age**, or between **males** and **females**
- **No clear pattern** on **burial type**, **biological sex**, **presence or absence of urns**, and **orientation** of the **body or face** could be distinguished
- **Clusters** that were **observed** during **excavation** activities have also been compared and analyzed, revealed **no clear pattern** as well
- The **only pattern** that could be distinguished was based on **grave goods** as **all the male individuals** had been recovered **associated** with **ceramic pottery**

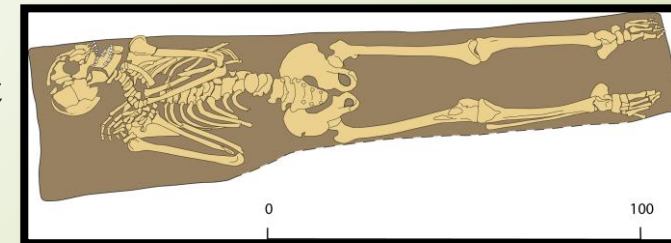


5. Transformations in Deathways and Lifeways in Aruba

➤ b. Aruba during the Colonial Period (1515 – 1924 C.E.)

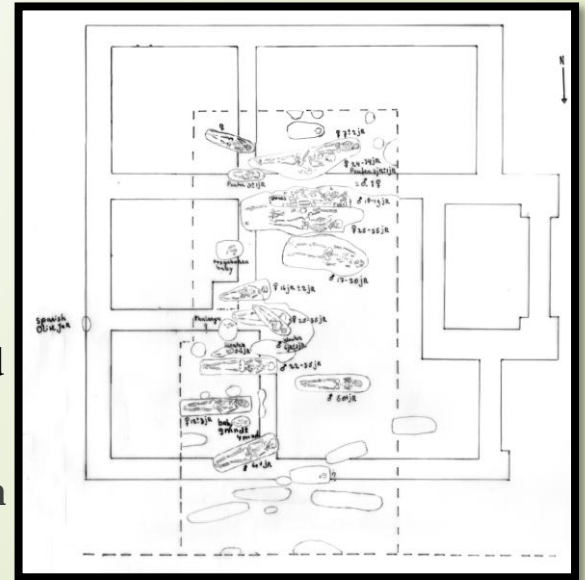
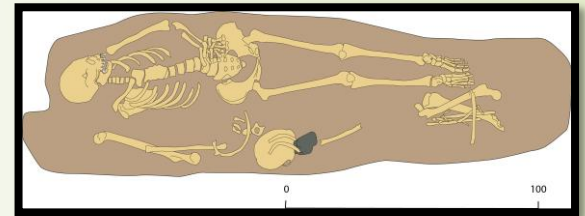
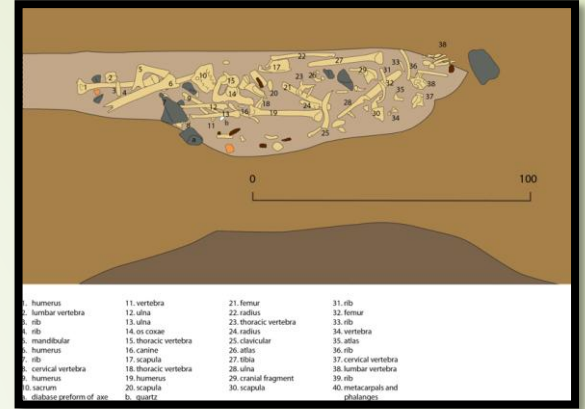
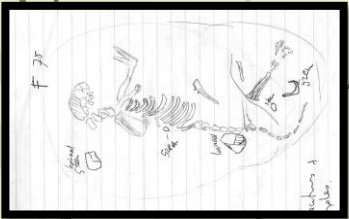
❖ Santa Cruz 35

- The **Santa Cruz 35 cemetery** is **one of only two** sites in the **insular Caribbean**, and **one** in the **continental Caribbean**, where people of **Indigenous ancestry** were buried together with individuals of **European ancestry** (**only mixed ancestry!**)
- The Indigenous individuals at this site were **Caquetio** and probably also descended from **populations displaced** from **other areas in the region**, the original inhabitants of the island having been **forcibly moved** to **other islands** as **enslaved laborers** during the early colonial period (it is suspected that some of the indigenous that returned to Aruba between **1525** and **1533** were of **other Caribbean islands**)
- **Dietary practices** at the site may have **differed significantly** from **precolonial practices in this area** (highly marine diet)
- The burial population of Santa Cruz 35 shows evidence of **exposure of Indigenous people to epidemics** and disease because of the **contact with Europeans**
- **Mortuary customs** at this site **contrast strongly** with the **precolonial tradition of burial in ceramic vessels** (urn burials), which comprises the **majority of burials** in sites on the islands of **Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao**
- Burials at Santa Cruz 35 appear to conform to **formalized European Christian practices of that era**, with exclusively **extended supine body positions**, **west-east orientation of the deceased**, and **inclusion of European materials** in the grave
- The **burials** were found in a cemetery area that appears to have been **physically separated** from the **settlement area**



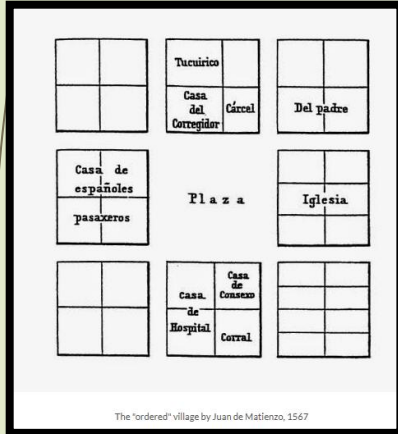
5. Transformations in Deathways and Lifeways in Aruba

- Implications presence of **dog burials**
- The site shows **no evidence** of **extended mortuary ritual** or the **removal of bones and body parts**
- **Secondary treatment** of the skeletonized remains of individuals at the site is **consistent with contemporaneous European practices** of moving aside and grouping together loose bones to make way for **new burials**
- **The spatial configuration of burials** within the cemetery area appears **less organized** than some larger **European cemeteries**, which are characterized by **linear alignment of graves**
- Some **clusters** of burials might reflect **familial relations**
- **Formalized body orientation** and **rearrangement of existing burials** in order to **place new burials** indicate that the cemetery at Santa Cruz 35 was **organized and managed according to Christian European practices**
- This paints a picture of **complete European control** over the **lifeways and deathways** of **Indigenous populations** in this context
- This **control extended to daily life and work**, and likely also **diet**, and determined the **manner of disposal of the dead**—Indigenous and European persons alike—and the **physical space** for and **organization of mortuary customs**
- The transformation toward **European mortuary traditions** resulted in a **separation of lifeways** from **deathways** in both **physical and sociocultural realms**

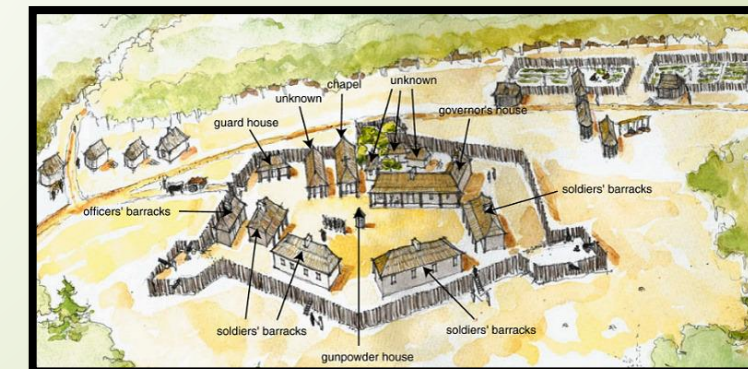


6. National Context & Implications for Aruban Historiography

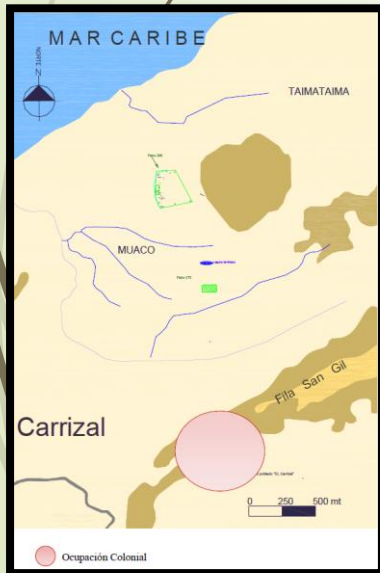
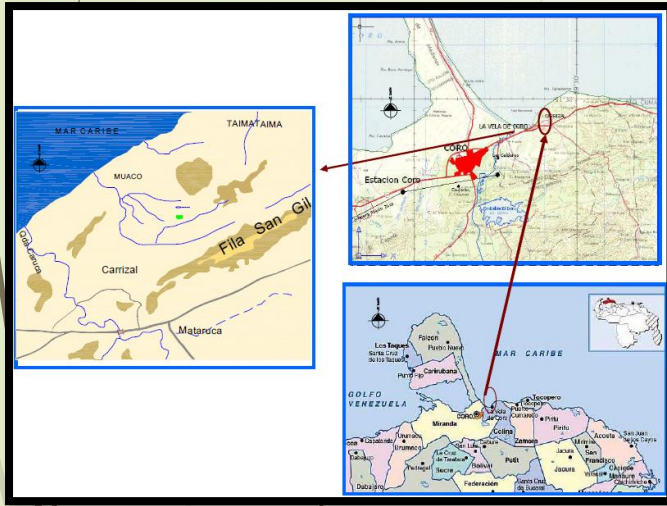
➤ a. Reconstruction community Santa Cruz 35 (1620 – 1750/1810)



- **Tsunami** effects Aruba **1500 CE**
- Europeans of this community of mixed origin were certainly *criollos*
- **First settlement** of settlers Aruba (base of pluralistic society Aruba)
- **Segregation or integration (1527-1636)?**
- **Spanish towns lay-out**
- **Civic regulations** stipulated that new settlements should **grow** from a **central square**, which was conceived as the heart of the community
- It contained many of the public buildings and its principal church
- The most **influential residents** built homes **around the square** itself and the town's main streets emanated from it to accommodate other families of its upper crust
- **Dynamics of urban growth/outward expansion:** **barrios** for the poor were established
- Each district expanded from **newly founded churches** and *plazuelas* with fountains were built to supply room and water for residents
- **Urban sprawl** in the second half of the colonial epoch was triggered by **accelerated growth**



6. National Context & Implications for Aruban Historiography



- **WIC (1636-1791)** - Political control in hands of the **Dutch**, while religious control was in hands of the **Spanish**
- **Census 1715** + veehouders (30)
- **Times of drought** – men to mainland (consistency of census: women & children)
- Relationship Coro – **El Carrizal (1723)**
- **Spiritual life** of non-Europeans appear to have been of **little concern to Dutch** (e.g. Brithish)
- Society of “**cunukero’s**” (vs Caribbean peasants)
- **Captainship**
- **Fiscal**
- Indigena (**Indjan**): ethnic or socio-cultural denomination?

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Aruba den 23 Junij 1715

Nijste van de Indjaenen die bewonden zijn

	man	Aruba	Jongens	vroeg	jonges
als Volgt	8	12	100		
Logement Lopez	12	6	20		
Frankie	7	—	30		
guana	2	—	14		
Antonio	—	—	12		
Pedro	—	—	20		
Juan	3	—	20		
guana/guljama	4	6	30		
Frankie	2	9	100		
Francisco Lopez	6	10	40		
Michel	—	—	100		
Domingo Joseph	2	33	100		
Macla	4	4	50		
Clement	12	—	130		
Francisco	1	—	20		
Francisco Lopez	18	9	180		
Michel	8	4	70		
Minguel	—	—	10		
Ydella	3	—	100		
Barthman	4	—	50		
Leon Loude	2	—	20		
Francisco	3	30	800		
Jorie	20	28	250		
Janna Maria	60	25	800		
Francisco	23	10	100		
Cap. Hendrik	—	20	30		
guana	—	—	20		
Domingo	40	—	100		
Frankie	4	9	50		
	210	206	3296		

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Aruba den 28 Junij 1715

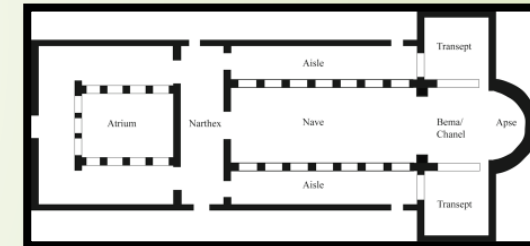
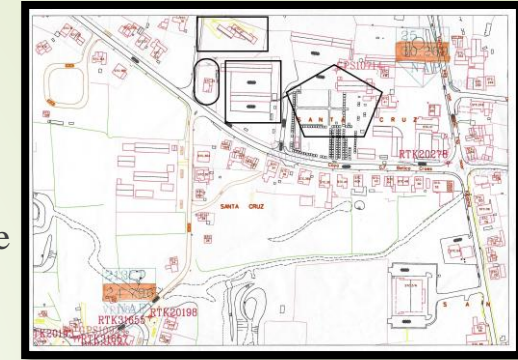
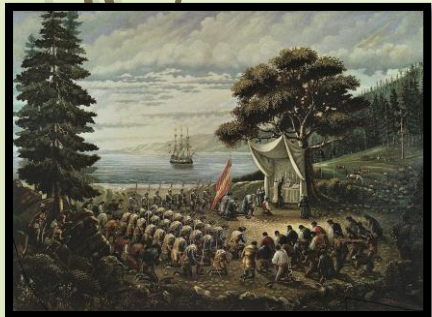
Nijste van de Indjaenen die bewonden zijn

	man	Aruba	Jongens	vroeg	jonges
man	67	—	—	—	—
vroemen	—	162	—	—	—
jongens	—	—	66	—	—
jonges	—	—	—	78	—
jongelingen	—	—	—	—	20
	67	162	66	78	20

6. National Context & Implications for Aruban Historiography

➤ b. Interesting interpretations of funerary practices and mortuary patterning

- **First time** in history that **gold** was found in an archaeological context (e.g. golden ring with 9 emeralds: Peruvian gold, Columbian emeralds, manufactured in Mexico [1715])
- **First time** excavated **coffin burials** (of 3 opened, 2 were **mestizos!**)
- Burial plots probably **lacked any formal tomb markers**
- **Catholic sacraments** & control
- More **Europeans** in cemetery (identified of 26 individuals), but **children (majority)** could have been **indigenous/mestizo**
- **Continuity and change** in indigenous foodways Archaic-Ceramic-Historic: **indigenous!!**
- **Syncretism/hybridity**
- **Social differences** – gifts, coffins (rectangular: wealth & noble: after 18th century common)
- **Shrouds** for the poor
- **Caribbean colonial cemeteries** typically **display segregation** expressed spatially and structurally (by internal divisions among groups or by the architectural demarcation altogether separate burial spaces)
- **Location church & possible town/settlement** – direction feet and face
- Implications if “catastrophic cemetery”
- **Free Caquetio society**: Manaure & cazicazgos until 19th century!
- **Abandonment** cemetery & settlement: **ca. 1750?**
- **Urban vs rural cemeteries**
- The **sporadic presence of ecclesiastical authorities at rural places**: mixture of symbolically charged objects and features demonstrate the concept of hybridity and agent-centered social expression Important, subtle variation occurs from place to place in terms of local experiences and **short- and long-term materializations of emerging beliefs and social identities**
- **City cemeteries** (Campeche, Mexico and St. Augustine, Florida) have a **positive correlation between crowding, urbanization and duration of use** - **outposts or rural enclaves** (Tancah, Quintana Roo and Tipu Belize), **burial density is much lower**
- **Colonial era parish records Aruba** – Coro + construction of Misa Santa Maria (1852): historic documents



6. National Context & Implications for Aruban Historiography

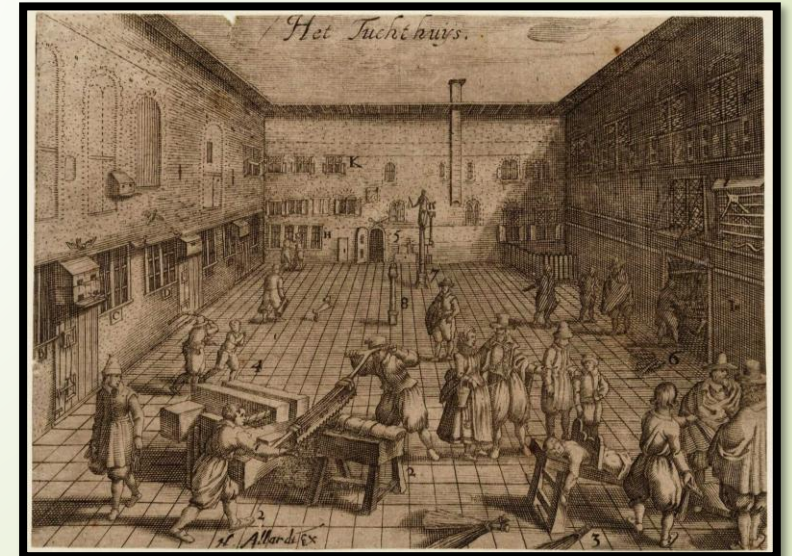
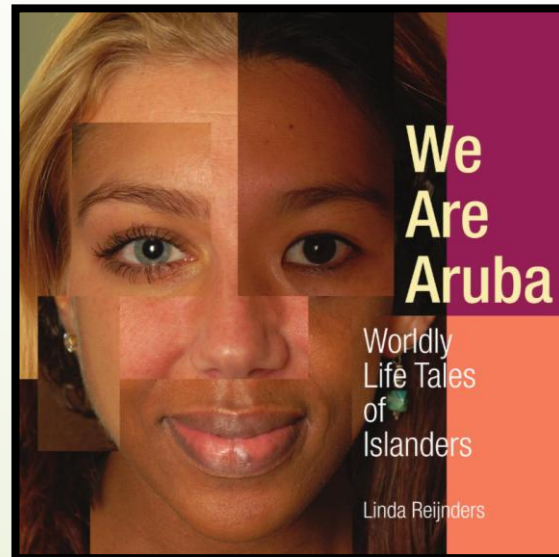
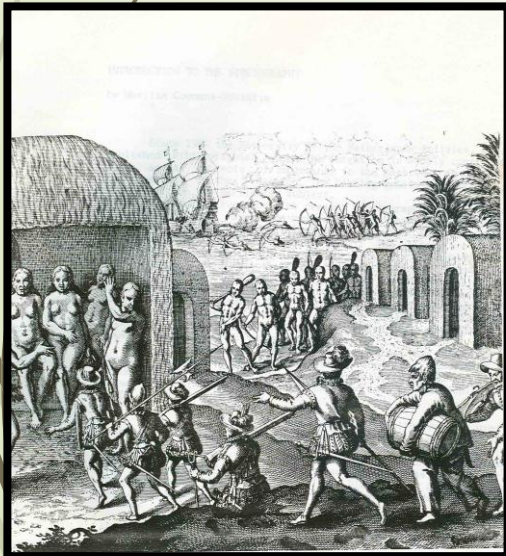
► c. Points of attentions Aruban historiography

- Little attention Quincentenary – Colonialism Southern Caribbean
- Little research in Southern Caribbean Colonial encounter: Santa Cruz Cemetery multi-disciplinary, theoretical and methodological research unique
- Arubans re-writing history (2018)
- The site contained an **unmarked and unrecorded cemetery**. Why or how come was the presence of the Santa Cruz 35 churchyard cemetery **omitted in history of Aruba?**
- **First time insight** on impact **encounter Spanish-Indigenous peoples!**
- Confirmation **Santa Cruz capital Aruba** during Ceramic Period (CE 900/1000-1515)
- Does **Santa Cruz 35 data support** relationship *encomendero/encomendado* in Aruba?
- Relationship **Spanish – Indigenous/Caquetio** unique in **region & continent!**
- **Confirmation Indios de Real Corona**: only indigenous peoples of American continent
- **Unique on continent: living together (!)** of **Spanish-Indigenous/Caquetio-children thereof**
- All **Spanish supposedly deported in 1636**, together with indigenous population
- **Colonization in Aruba** was already happening in 17th century (Strontium Isotope Analysis) and were mixing and having children together
- **Living east of Hooiberg (1767) challenged or confirmation?**
- I suspect that this cemetery was **abandoned around the mid-eighteenth century**, although the present radio-carbon dates place the site between 1620-1810 CE.
- Implication presence church: **Alto Vista (1750) not first Christian church of Aruba**
- Term of Indian (**Indjan**): **ethnic or socio-cultural?** Implications **historic interpretations**
- Santa Cruz 35 individuals are the ancestors of present population Aruba!?!



7. Conclusions

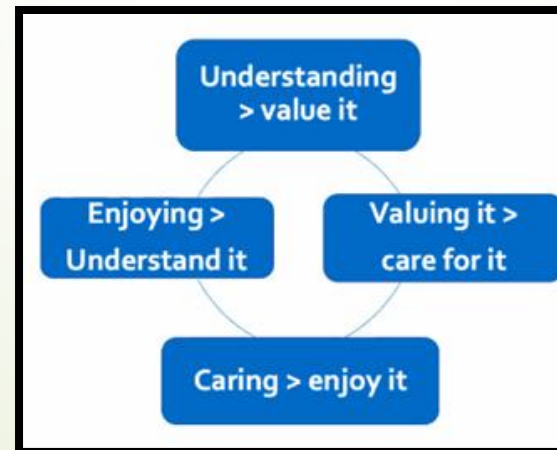
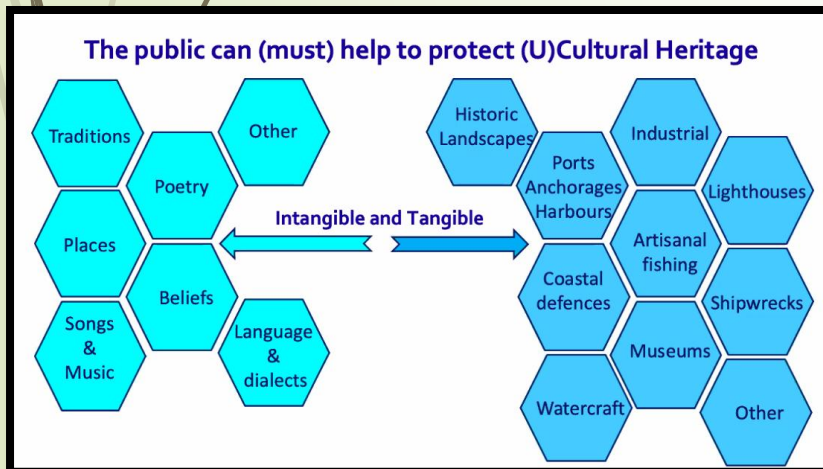
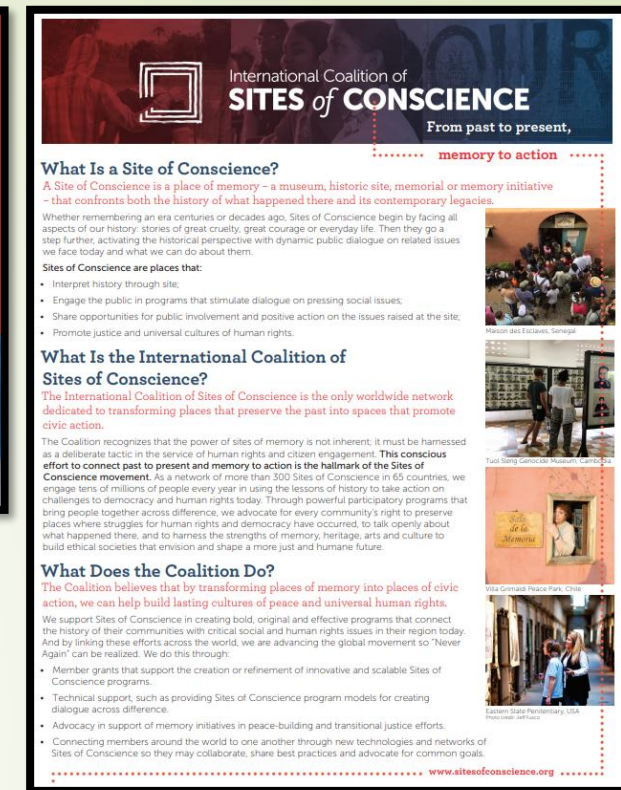
- a. Singular Aruban Life- and Deatways in Circum-Caribbean
 - ❖ This multi-disciplinary long-term investigation will establish **new regional insights** and **interpretations** that will **change Aruba's history** and **add information** otherwise **not present** in the **historical record**
 - ❖ These results will further help **comprehend** Aruba's **present population's biological** and **cultural history**, all together strengthening the efforts and **validation** for this **cemetery** to become an important **national** and **regional Site of Conscience**
 - ❖ It is of utmost importance that the **archaeological information** finds its way to the **curricula** of our **primary** and **secondary schools** and **relevant institutions**



7. Conclusions

➤ b. The creation of a Site of Conscience

- ❖ Places of Memory
- ❖ Community & Public Archaeology
- ❖ Bottom-up approach
- ❖ Platform for debate & reflection



7. Conclusions

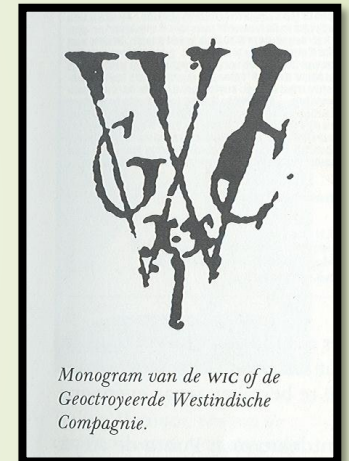
➤ c. Research Questions

❖ Primary Research question

“How was the Indigenous-Spanish-Dutch colonial interaction in Aruba expressed in funerary practices at the putative Late Colonial Santa Cruz 35 churchyard cemetery?”

➤ Additional questions

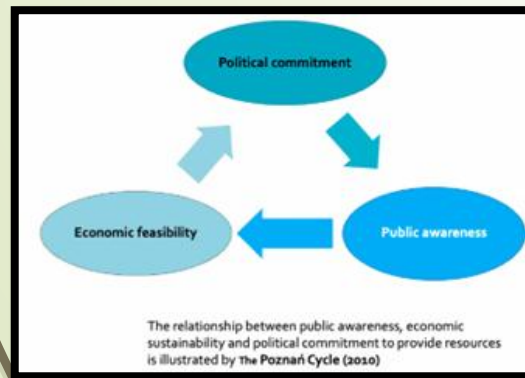
1. “What is the meaning of the evidence of this socio-cultural interaction for Aruba’s historiography?”
2. “What are the similarities and differences of mortuary practices and data of demography, origins, diet and health between the Santa Cruz 35 cemetery and Circum-Caribbean colonial cemeteries and what is its significance?”
3. “How and why can the Santa Cruz 35 site become a Site of Conscience to understand the past better and inspire action to shape the future of Aruba and this region?”



7. Conclusions

➤ d. Objectives

- ❖ My main objective is to acquire insight of what kind of population is represented at the Santa Cruz 35 site identifying elements and individuals at this cemetery associated with the European conquest and colonization of Aruba, including processes of change and continuity of Indigenous patterns that developed because of this interaction which were ultimately expressed in the funerary practices
- ❖ I want to furthermore assess the national and international meaning of this process of interaction in a (late) colonial (not contact) situation, to understand the Indigenous responses and processes of transformation which, together with the space wherein it took place, constructed new identities, individuals, and communities
- ❖ Lastly, it is my aim to explore the potential of this site to be transformed into a Site of Conscience that will have a long-term spin-off effect on the preservation of Aruba's and this region's cultural history, enforcing its identity, and positively influence related socio-economic developments



**Thank you for
your attention!**

Do you have questions?



Acknowledgements

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